India

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Notes and News 401
The New Law of Sedition: What does Parliament think of it? ... 404
The Currency Quackery 405
A Heroic Indian Doctor 406
Regeneration of the Rayat, by an English Zemindar 407
Our London Letter 408
Chronicle of the Week 409
The Committee on Currency:
Offer of Indian Evidence 410
Important Indian Memorial ... 410
India in Parliament 411
The Meaning of Bullion Imports ... 414
Et Caetera 414
Advertisements 415-416

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE present issue of India completes the first half-yearly volume of the weekly series. We have to acknowledge gratefully much cordial encouragement and support. Many of our contemporaries honoured us with a generously kind send-off; and we may be pardoned the satisfaction of taking the present occasion to quote some recent remarks from the *New Age*, addressed (June 9) to such of its readers as wish to understand Indian affairs :—

> Read the columns of India week by week. We take leave to do ourselves the pleasure of acknowledging explicitly the eminently patriotic work that our contemporary is doing so ably, and with such conspicuous fairness, in placing before the public a regular statement of important facts about India, and a reasoned judgment upon current problems. . . . . Such an able and outspoken organ is simply invaluable at the present time.

It seems difficult to live up to this good opinion of our efforts, but, depend upon it, we mean to try our best.

On Monday night (June 27), the House of Commons, on the motion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, remitted the loan of over three-quarters of a million sterling (£798,802), which was made to the Egyptian Government in the early part of last year. The contrast between this open-handed liberality to Egypt and the grasping selfishness of the recent refusal—for it was a refusal—to contribute to the Indian frontier expenses, is humiliating and appalling. The Egyptian finances are flourishing; the Indian treasury is empty. The Egyptian Government, on the Chancellor's own statement in 1896, undertook this Soudan expedition with their own forces and at their own cost; the Indian frontier expeditions sprang from grounds of an Imperial character, and were denounced throughout India. There is not a single argument for Egypt but tells with vastly stronger force for India. This conversion of a large loan into a free gift differentiates against India with monstrous injustice. The reason, of course, we know. Let the *Pioneer* once more express it :—

> The mischief of Parliamentary interference with Indian affairs has been conspicuous and serious in the past; but it would be exaggerated a hundredfold if the British workman came to think that as he was paying for the Indian concern he had an indefeasible right to control its working.

The horror—in some cases amounting to panic—aroused by the murder of Dr. Sircar continues to find expression in many quarters. One of the most noteworthy exponents of this feeling is the *Indian Lancet*, the organ of the medical profession in India. Commenting on the remark of one of the accused to a policeman, "You are insulting me before niggers," the *Lancet* says: "The authorities must discourage the feeling which prompts these outrages—the domineering *hauteur* of the conquering race, holding in contempt the native population subject to their authority." Coming, as this does, from a professional paper, outside politics, and certainly unconnected with any Indian agitation, it deserves the attention of those who think that everything would be right in India were it not for seditious newspapers and their English abettors. The English Empire in India is in more danger from the English than from the Indians: from the contempt shown by the rulers than from any disloyalty of the ruled, and we again impress this glaring fact upon Englishmen at home.

We are not yet aware that any open-eyed correspondent of the *Times* telegraphed to London the circumstances, or even the bare fact, of the death of Dr. Sircar at Barrackpur—an incident that has thrilled India to its uttermost bounds. On June 22, however, the Simla correspondent of the *Times* thought it worth the expense to wire a considerable paragraph said to be an extract from "a remarkable article on Mr. Gladstone's death" in "a vernacular paper called the *Hindustani of Lucknow*, the leading Congress journal in Oudh." We believe there is a weekly sheet called the *Hindustani* published at Lucknow; but it is news to us that it is "the leading Congress journal in Oudh," or indeed a Congress journal at all. We adopt the expression "a Congress journal," but it is necessary to explain. The Congress, so far as we are aware, has no journal in Oudh, or in India, in the sense of a journal inspired or controlled in its action by the Congress. It may be that the *Hindustani* advocates Congress views; we hope it does. But if the specimen submitted by the *Times* correspondent be a fair one, the most ardent of officials will have a hard task to bring the editor of the *Hindustani* within the mischief of the Sedition Acts. Our Lucknow contemporary's advocacy will not seriously disturb the powers that be. Would the *Hindustani* have been honoured with such special prominence by the *Times* if it had not exposed a loophole through which a thrust might be made at the Congress? Most certainly, never.

We are always ready to face the facts, and therefore we reproduce the alleged extract from the *Hindustani* word for word as it stands in the *Times* (June 24) :

> We (Indians) are yet far from true progress. Englishmen rule over us because they are possessed of those high moral virtues of which we have not a vestige. Nor are we likely to acquire them for centuries yet. Leave alone political matters, is there among us a pious, highly moral man? Does he get justice done him? Are not the people ready everywhere to put him into trouble? In municipal committees the only work entrusted to us is the repair of drains and roads, and yet how badly we acquit ourselves! Old friendships are broken, lifelong feuds begun; brother fights with brother; all social amenities between political opponents are forbidden. But look at Englishmen! They rule over large Empires. They divide themselves into political parties, and in debate or discussions often use strong, even unwarrantable language against each other; but they have virtue and generosity enough and entertain esteem and regard even for political opponents. The behaviour of the English nation in the matter of Mr. Gladstone's death is without a parallel in the world. It is impossible for our narrow minds to understand how a man can devote himself to the service of his nation. It is very essential before we demand political rights and privileges from the Englishmen (our rulers) that we should endeavour to acquire those virtues which alone have made Englishmen great among the nations of the world.

This, then, it is represented to the English public at home, is the language of a Congress journal—"the leading Congress journal in Oudh." How far it speaks the mind of the Congress, the correspondent is well able to estimate; and so is the *Times*. A more ludicrous travesty could not well be conceived. A meeting of the Congress would dissolve in laughter over it, unless indeed it were overpowered by shame. Here is an editor, presumably an Indian, declaring that his countrymen "have not a vestige" of "those high moral virtues" so plentifully possessed by Englishmen; that they persecute the "pious, highly moral man"; that they are incompetent even to repair drains and roads; that socially and politically they are in irreconcilable feud; that it is impossible for their narrow minds to understand a man's devotion to the service of his nation; and that it is out of the question to demand political rights till they have acquired the Englishman's "high moral virtues." It would be waste of time to discuss any one of those assertions, belied as they are by the most obvious facts.

Yet they illustrate one thing—and it is a fearfully ominous thing—the insincerity and servility induced by tyrannical administration. How can it be supposed for a moment that any free and sane man could deliberately

write down such arrant nonsense? Does even the *Times* or its Simla correspondent entertain an atom of belief that the writer has set down what he really thinks? But, thanks to the Sedition Acts, Englishmen will be fooled with a vast deal more of the same sort of putrid stuff, though probably in more artistic, and therefore more effective, form. We have already spoken of these Acts as calculated to make criminals; they have already gone a step worse even than that, and commenced to make hypocrites. Our "high moral virtues" seem but too likely to work degeneration in the Indian moral fibre—a degeneration not only morally pitiable, but politically pregnant with danger and, it may be readily, disaster.

Yet, at last, the Simla correspondent of the *Times* wires something to the purpose. On Tuesday last (June 28), Colonel Hutchinson, Director of Military Education, lectured on the Tirah campaign, the Viceroy and the leading officials being present. In the discussion, Mr. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner of the Punjab, and late Commissioner of Rawal Pindi; "declared that the root causes of the risings were due to the forward policy of the Government, the tribesmen believing that the demarcation of the frontier under the Durand agreement was the first step towards annexation. It was true," he said, "the Afridis were not interfered with, but they saw their neighbours being brought within the limits of British political influence." Moreover, Mr. Thorburn, "speaking as an old frontier officer, hotly condemned the abandonment of the Khyber on August 23, when 12,000 troops marked time about Peshawar." Further, "Mr. Thorburn's remarks were much applauded by a large section of the audience. He declared that August 23 was a day of pain, shame, and humiliation for the British dominion in India." And, in conclusion, "he said that the policy of expansion pursued by the Government was intolerable to the frontier tribes, and impracticable for necessitous India, because of its ominous expenditure and the utter hopelessness of finality."

Now this is business, and we shall look carefully for the Government's recognition of the value of such splendidly meritorious plain speaking. Sir James Westland took on himself the brunt of official defence. He said that "when he listened to the applause which greeted Mr. Thorburn's remarks, he hardly thought he could be at Simla, but must be at a meeting of the National Congress." Certainly neither did we imagine that there was so much good sense at Simla; and, on the face of the report, we must admit that Mr. Thorburn's speech would have been heartily applauded at a meeting of the National Congress. The attitude of the Congress is completely supported by the experience and judgment of Mr. Thorburn, whose strength of conviction and sense of responsibility may be estimated from his admirable courage in speaking out before the assembled authorities. Reuter tells us that Sir W. Mackworth Young, Lieut.-Governor of the Punjab, contented himself with deploring the contentious tone of the discussion; but he is not reported to have contradicted Mr. Thorburn's facts or arguments. Lord Elgin "did not speak." Reuter says Mr. Thorburn's speech "caused a sensation." It reveals a significant state of things when such obvious truths can cause a sensation.

Sir Henry Fowler did good service in urging (June 7) "a rigid enquiry into all the circumstances which caused the specific outbreak at the Khyber Pass (as well as into other points). The *Pioneer*, we observe, supports Sir Henry, and demands that the enquiry extend to Chakdara. The Khyber *débâcle* is a most fitting point of commencement; and an efficient investigation would come pretty near to Simla.

The *Pioneer* returns to the question of Chitral, from which it believes that the garrison may be withdrawn, "in certain contingencies, next summer." One great difficulty is, of course, the youth of the present ruler. In our jealousy of any personality round which, as a centre, opponents of our rule might rally, we have "smashed the big men," and we are now doubtful how far this youth can be trusted to maintain himself without our continuous support. Well may the *Pioneer* say :—

> In Chitral, as in other tracts nearer the Indian border, our interference has involved heavy responsibilities which were not at first anticipated, and the difficulty is to find a way out of a maze that has grown more and more intricate at every step forward.

How can the people ever learn to govern themselves if we will not allow them to act without perpetual interference?

The London *Spectator* published in its current issue (June 25) a strangely alarmist article under the mild title of "A Moral Problem in India." The authority our contemporary relies on, and the situation of alarm, are thus indicated :—

> We write on information which we can entirely trust, that of Englishmen who really know the people, when we say there is the gravest danger of insurrection among fifty millions of the fighting races of Upper India unless the plague rules are withdrawn, and all attempts at segregation or interference with sepulture finally abandoned. The group of men who at Simla really govern India, and who wish to govern it well, are therefore discussing with great anxiety the resolves to be adopted, desiring to be clear in their minds not only as to the expediency, but as to the morality of receding from their policy or persisting in it.

"As to the expediency," the *Spectator* thinks, "there is little doubt." And it spends the major part of its article on a curious exercise in casuistry touching the morality of abandoning or maintaining their policy.

Let us look at the facts detailed by our contemporary in connection with this noteworthy announcement :—

> Their (Indians') special ideas of honour, their most rooted superstitions, and their deepest fears are all outraged by the plague rules. . . . The rules have already produced something like insurrection in Bombay and Poona, and in Calcutta have so nearly caused bloodshed amidst the timidly submissive Bengalee population, that the Government has enquired of the doctors whether alternative measures not involving segregation might not be as successful. The doctors reply in the negative, and segregation is still, therefore, the accepted method of combatting the plague. Unfortunately, the flight of scores of thousands, partly from fear of death, partly from dread of dishonour, has carried the seeds of the disease to Upper India, where the population is hardier and fiercer than in either Bombay or Calcutta, and there is grave reason to believe that, as the cold weather comes on, there will be in the villages as well as the towns of Hindustan and the Punjab a grave outburst of the disgusting epidemic. The authorities are therefore warning the population that the rules must be enforced, and the population are responding with threats which have seriously alarmed the abler members of the Government.

The *Spectator* concludes that "we are not bound to drive our civilisation into a subject people at the bayonet's point"; even though "the claim of a higher intelligence and a nobler creed we perforce, in retreating from rules made imperative by our own benevolence, must surrender."

Such are the counsels of Panic—Panic, the daughter of Ignorance and Feeble-Mind. Of course, the Simla group, with all their good intentions, are full of anxiety; and it may be that "the abler members of the Government," whoever these are, feel serious alarm. How could it be otherwise when they are about as ignorant of the thoughts and feelings now swaying the Indian mind as is our esteemed contemporary, the *Spectator?* True, also, the people are alarmed. But where is the sense of telling the English people that the plague rules "produced something like insurrection in Bombay and Poona," when General Gatacre, who has since fought battles in the Soudan, administered the plague without a murmur eighteen months ago in Bombay, and when Colonel Creagh is respected and obeyed in Poona as if he were Sivaji *redivivus* himself? Where there has been any difficulty, the blame lies with ignorant and unsympathetic administrators. It is not "segregation" that upsets people; it is the unintelligible aggregation of avoidable discomforts, and the mystery suggested by too strict closure of the wards against friends of the patients. And that is the whole story. In Calcutta, it does not appear to be very certain whether there is plague or no; and there is not the slightest danger of mischief, provided the officials are sympathetic and enlist the help of the leaders of the community, instead of clapping them into prison or deporting them. It is not cannon and bayonets we want; it is a pinch or two of the merest common sense. The Indian population is docile in the last degree—to intelligent and honest sympathy. We commend the prescription to the alarmed gentlemen at Simla.

One or two supposed deaths from plague continue to occur from day to day in Calcutta, but the facts are still involved in doubt. If there be plague in Calcutta, it certainly has not assumed the epidemic form that it assumed in Bombay and Poona. The Municipal Commissioners have acted wisely in passing a resolution requesting Doctors Sanders, Russell, Charles, and Sarbadhikari to form themselves into a Visiting Committee to

examine the suspected cases in the Manicktolla hospital. In the meantime, a feeling of disquiet still prevails among the lower classes, and disturbance was apprehended at Howrah. The plague rioters at Bhowanipur and Champatolla (in Calcutta) have been sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

It is now becoming a commonplace in India that in all measures adopted against the plague, political, social and moral considerations must be taken into account as much as medical and sanitary ones, and that without the co-operation of the people such measures will be of little effect. This is especially true of segregation, as is easily seen. A large number of concealed cases, even with the strictest segregation of those discovered, may have on the whole a greater infecting power than a laxer segregation which caused less opposition, and could therefore be more universally applied. The *Friend of India* puts the matter very clearly in a numerical form :

Let us, for example, suppose two systems of segregation, under one of which the potency of each patient segregated as a focus of infection is reduced to zero, and another under which it is reduced by only seventy-five per cent., but while under the latter ninety per cent. of cases are detected, fifty per cent. go undiscovered under the former. Here the result is that the aggregate potency of every hundred cases of the disease, detected and undetected together, as foci of infection, will be, under the more theoretically perfect system, $50 \times 100 = 5,000$, but under the less theoretically perfect system $(10 \times 100 + 90 \times 25) = 1,000 + 2,250 = 3,250$ only.

"With a sigh of relief," writes the *Indian Spectator*, "must Bombay have received the Government order restoring to the Municipal Commissioners the responsibility to deal with the plague as with other epidemics." The move of the Government in taking away that power from the Municipal Commissioners and vesting it in a Plague Committee was a gross blunder, and has ended in financial complications, disturbance of the peace, and general crippling of plague-relief operations. You cannot deal with large populations of Indian towns except through their representative men; to dispense with the co-operation of the people means the end of government in India. The *Spectator* apprehends that fresh loans or taxation will be necessary to enable the Bombay Municipality to get over its financial crisis. But why should not the Indian Government come to the help of the town in view of the appalling crisis it has passed through? Mr. Snow's proposal that the Municipality should pay only half the plague-relief expenses is a most equitable one. It would be a scandal if the Imperial Government declined to succour plague-stricken towns in India.

We recently referred to the alleged plague-riot at Garhshankar, and to the conduct of the police, who shot a number of the people. The Punjab papers now complain, with reason, that no proper enquiry has yet been made into this very serious affair. In the absence of such enquiry, the worst rumours against the conduct of the police and the officials are afloat, and it is most desirable that they should be dispelled. This can be done only by a local investigation.

The *Tribune* of Lahore, which has so long preached unity to Moslems and Hindus, is naturally pleased at the good relations which now exist between the two communities almost everywhere throughout the Punjab. Except for the deplorable conflict at Multan, the Mohurrum passed off, not only without any show of ill-feeling, but with the most lively expressions of good-will. We have heard much lately about the evil influence of the Indian Press. The *Tribune* charges the Anglo-Indian newspapers with fomenting quarrels between Mahometans and Hindus by making the most of every trifling cause of dispute. "*Divide et impera*" has ever been a favourite maxim of conquerors; but if the English should ever adopt it, they will have sunk to a depth of degradation only to be paralleled by the depth of folly of those Indians who by their internal conflicts betray the cause of their common country.

The Fourth Provincial Conference of Bengal, held at Dacca on May 31 and June 1 and 2, appears to have been most successful. The number of people present on the first day, including the two hundred delegates, was about fifteen hundred. About twenty European gentlemen, a dozen Mahometan gentlemen, and a number of Hindus took their seats on the dais. Mr. Kemp, the Editor of the *Bengal Times*, and an uncompromising opponent of the Congress party, is reported to have been led away by the proceedings, and to have made a very good speech on the plague, voicing the popular views. The talented Kabindra Nath, one of the greatest of the living poets of Bengal, sang a national anthem in Bengali. Mr. Guru Prasad Sen, Chairman of the Reception Committee, welcomed the delegates, and the Hon. Kali Charan Banerjea, being voted to the chair, gave an eloquent and stirring address, repeatedly interrupted by cheers.

On the second day six resolutions were passed. The first placed on record the deep sense of loss at the death of Mr. Gladstone; and the fifth recorded the gratitude of the people to the Government of Bengal and to Sir John Woodburn for the kindly manner in which the plague rules have been organised and worked in Bengal. The speech of the day was that of the Rev. Mr. Kerry, who expressed his hearty sympathy with the objects of the Conference. Such intelligent sympathy recalls the time when Christian missionaries in India felt and worked with the people. The Rev. Mr. Long even suffered imprisonment for trying to help the Bengal cultivators against the oppressions of indigo planters. There never was a time when the people of India deserved greater sympathy from all liberal-hearted Christians than in these dark days of repression.

On the third day the Conference passed a large number of resolutions, the most important being in favour of the development of indigenous industries. No place in India has suffered more keenly from competition with the steam and machinery of Europe than East Bengal, which used to be the centre of the world-famed weavers of old. And no place, therefore, could be better suited than Dacca for uttering a protest against the ruin of the weaving industries. Mr. Tralokya Nath Bose, the leader of the Dacca Bar, made a telling speech on the subject. The next Provincial Council will be held in the 24 Pergannahs, the district round Calcutta.

Last week we chronicled the death of Mr. Grose. A correspondent writes :—"In Mr. Grose Madras has lost another kind-hearted and able administrator. He joined the Madras Civil Service in 1860, and was about to retire from a long and meritorious service when he was struck down. The *Madras Standard* says the deceased officer won the universal esteem and affection of the people by his conscientious work and his regard for their welfare. His death, coming so soon after the death of another member of the Council, Mr. Ross, has caused universal sorrow."

Two more awkward cases of European assaults on Indians are reported this week. The *Sanjibani* of Bengal reports that a European engineer in Tirhoot (Behar) was so annoyed with the music of a Native marriage ceremony that he discharged his revolver, wounding several people. The *Advocate of India* (Bombay) publishes a telegram from Simla that two European soldiers threw a whisky-cart, bullocks, and driver, down a precipice because they could get no whisky, and that they are to be sent to Umballa for trial. We merely reproduce these items of information as they have appeared in well-known newspapers, and await further information. If the facts be as they are represented, they should make all true Englishmen humiliated and sad, as well as concerned for our Eastern Empire.

When the Anglo-Indian crusade against Indian activity in public life is proceeding briskly, it is interesting to note Sir John Jardine's remarks on the right of interpellation in Council, as stated in a remarkably able and luminous article in the July *Asiatic Quarterly* :—

The right of the non-official members to put questions to the Indian Government is, we think, certain to be intended when the Parliamentary Statutes are re-cast. Interpellation gives some slight vocal utterance to local grievances, none the less dangerous because often obscure. It is still more valuable since writing and the Press have come under a heavier law of sedition, especially as the highest authorities now admit with despair that their hard office work cuts off the Indian civilians from enough contact with the people . . . . An inconvenient question may often save the waste of public energy and public money. Such a device as interpellation might have checked the policy in which the old Bank of Bombay became insolvent. It is valuable in stopping public scandals, like the military "pickle-jar" case, or futile prosecutions costing lakhs of rupees, like the Crawford trial. But as the Natives know best where our official shoes pinch them, its paramount merit lies in the easy ventilation of grievances, mistakes, and injustice. It is a fitting pendant to trial by jury

THE NEW LAW OF SEDITION: WHAT DOES PARLIAMENT THINK OF IT?

THE Secretary of State for India, in the course of the debate on February 18, stated that, when the opinions of the Legislative Council on the New Law of Sedition came home, "if it was desired that they should be published, he would at once do so, and that would be a legitimate and proper opportunity for discussing the matter." The papers have now been issued, and the "legitimate and proper opportunity" has arrived; but we are still awaiting the suggested discussion. The precious Acts laying down the new law have created wide and deep excitement in India. They have introduced legal changes which directly and seriously affect the relations of the Government to the people; these changes, as the papers show, have been in some important respects inspired, not so much by the Indian Government, as by the Secretary of State himself, who is directly responsible to the Parliament of the United Kingdom; and the matter therefore in an especial degree demands the strict cognisance of that Parliament. If the House of Commons is ever going to take Indian affairs into its sober consideration, if ever it intends to act as a real check on the Government of India, here surely is a notable occasion for the exercise of its powers and the discharge of its solemn duty. If the Session passes without an adequate discussion of these offensive and retrograde Acts, the Indian Government will be erected into an irresponsible despotism of the worst kind—the despotism of a Government separated from the governed by differences of race and civilisation, relieved by the possession of irresistible power from any fear of the public opinion of India, and freed by the silence of the House of Commons from any consideration for the public opinion of England. The House of Commons must discuss this subject, or abdicate its functions and put aside its claims to exercise any effective supervision over the Government of India.

The time has come; the papers are before the country; and the man to be arraigned for this most dangerous legislation is not so much any distant official in India, as Lord George Hamilton himself. To the Secretary of State belongs the honour both of inspiring the new clause against sedition and of hurrying the lagging steps of the Legislative Council; and it is but fitting that he should have an opportunity of defending his own work before the House and the country. The Bill as it originally issued from the Council in India contained only two amendments to the Penal Code. The first of these was a proposal to extend the law to cases of defamation relating to classes or communities, so as to protect bodies of public servants; and a minority of the Council opposed the change on the ground that the public trial would probably create more feeling against the class defamed than did the original libel. The second was intended to place on the defendant the burden of proving that statements calculated to incite to mutiny or other offences against public order were true, instead of forcing the prosecution to prove that they were false, as under the old law. In the eyes of the Council the amendment of criminal procedure by giving magistrates power to bind over those suspected of sedition and by enabling certain magistrates to deal with minor cases of sedition instead of sending them to a sessions court, was much more important. These were the changes proposed by the Council in India, and for all beyond it is Lord George Hamilton that must get the credit.

But to say that the Council proposed no change in the legal definition of sedition is to put the matter far too mildly. Their first despatch, in which they proposed to the Secretary of State the amendments in the law which have been already cited, contained almost at the beginning an elaborate exposition of their reasons for considering that a new definition was unnecessary; indeed, to this they devoted nearly half of their despatch. It is evident from Lord George's reply that he had a strong objection to the last of the proposed changes in procedure. But he had a still stronger objection to the omission of a new definition of sedition. The result was that the two parties came to a compromise by each sacrificing something of Indian liberty. Lord George accepted, with a small amendment, the clause extending the powers of magistrates; and the Council included in their other Bill a clause on sedition. Thus in both directions the freedom and the wishes of the Indians were set at nought.

The new clause as proposed by Lord George Hamilton read as follows:—

> 124A. Whoever by words, either spoken or intended to be read, or by signs or by visible representation or otherwise, excites or attempts to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection towards the Queen or the Government, or promotes or attempts to promote feelings of illwill between different classes of the Queen's subjects, shall be punished with transportation for life, or for any term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.
>
> Explanation 1.—Disaffection includes all feelings of illwill.
>
> Explanation 2.—The making of comments upon the measures of Government with intent to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt, or disaffection, is not an offence.

It is not easy to imagine anything more dangerously vague than this definition of disaffection as "including all feelings of illwill." It was too much for the Select Committee that examined the Bill in its relation to extra-territorial offences. The Committee say in their Report:—

> We have omitted the words "or illwill" at the conclusion of explanation 1. The expression "all feelings of illwill" appears to us to be too wide and vague. It is only when feelings of illwill amount to disloyalty or enmity that they constitute such disaffection as is contemplated by the clause. A certain amount of illwill may be compatible with genuine loyalty.

Having dealt in this decided way with the first explanation, they proceed, in regard to the second, to point out that criticism, as of an appointment, may be justifiable even though the critics have no thought of cancelling what has been already done. Meantime Lord George Hamilton was continually pressing the Council to haste, using such expressions as "without delay," and "I regard it as of importance that this entire question should be taken up and disposed of in the present legislative session." A week later he telegraphs:—"I leave method of passing amendments to your discretion provided it is done this session." Thus it is to the Secretary of State in England that we must attribute both the amendment of the law of sedition and the haste—the indecent haste—with which it was hurried through. The responsibility is as yet Lord George Hamilton's, but those who allow the matter to be passed over in silence will share with him the obloquy.

The clause as actually passed stands thus:—

> 124A. SEDITION. Whoever by words, either spoken or written, or by signs, or by visible representation, or otherwise, brings or attempts to bring into hatred or contempt, or excites or attempts to excite disaffection towards her Majesty or the Government established by law in British India, shall be punished with transportation for life or any shorter term, to which fine may be added, or with imprisonment which may extend to three years, to which fine may be added, or with fine.
>
> Explanation 1.—The expression "disaffection" includes disloyalty and all feelings of enmity.
>
> Explanation 2.—Comments expressing disapprobation of the measures of the Government with a view to obtain their alteration by lawful means, without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.
>
> Explanation 3.—Comments expressing disapprobation of the administrative or other action of the Government without exciting or attempting to excite hatred, contempt or disaffection, do not constitute an offence under this section.

Now from this it appears that if in commenting on any action of the Government, a writer brings the Government into contempt or excites any feeling of enmity, though he had no such intention, he is at once guilty of the crime of sedition and is liable to transportation for life. Yet how can the evil acts of a government be exposed, without at the same time producing some—probably just—feelings of enmity? Or how can its foolish acts be made public without bringing it into some—probably well-deserved—contempt? The mistakes and the follies of government cannot be mentioned without risk of criminality, and the more true the accusation and the more necessary the exposure the greater the danger of arousing in others those feelings which will make the publicist a criminal. The crime depends neither on his own action solely, nor on his intention, but on the effects of his action on other people's feelings, which he could not foresee, and which will be stronger as the grievance discussed is the more real. The writer is to be punished because the conduct of the Government lends force to his words, because he is the mouthpiece of a real desire for redress, and because he has spoken the truth; for then only are his words likely to excite feelings either of enmity or of contempt for the Government.

Both from his official position and from his direct influence on the course of the new legislation, Lord George Hamilton must bear the chief responsibility. But there are others on whom it will fall in a scarcely less degree if

they persist in their present silence: we mean explicitly the leaders of the Opposition. The Liberal party has long professed to be the special defenders of free speech, and if ever there was a country where liberty of criticism was necessary it is India, governed as it is by aliens who learn with so much difficulty the feelings and customs and wishes of the people. And yet when this most dangerous inroad is made on the principle of freedom of speech, the leaders of that party, the chosen depositaries of its traditions, are silent. Generations of Liberal statesmen have declaimed against any attempt to stop the mouths of opponents of the Government by the cry of sedition; yet their successors have no words to say when these practices, long abandoned in England, reappear under English Government in territories beyond the ocean. Liberal statesmen in the past have always protested against attempts to entrap men into sedition by vague and elastic definitions; are their successors to allow such things to pass now, careless of the suffering the law may cause to those who are tried under it, careless of the injury to the people if fear of the law produces an atrophy of public discussion and the voice of India is silenced? It has been suggested that the Liberal leaders are prevented by "the etiquette of the Front Benches" from taking any action that might bring them into collision with Sir Henry Fowler. If this be so, then they are sacrificing to an absurd fetish the principles and the traditions of their party, their own reputation for consistency, the trust of all those who value freedom of speech, and the peace and happiness of India. They show that they consider a question of official courtesy as of more importance, even in the face of a crisis of Indian opinion, than the professions on which their party has over and over again asked for the confidence of the country. It may, indeed, be that the people of India have few friends in England; they may be hidden from the great mass of the people in this country; but let no man think that they can be wronged or neglected with impunity. The day of reckoning always comes, however slow. And the party which is deaf to the cries of India may one day find that its great professions are treated as idle rhetoric, and its appeals to principle as the worst hypocrisy.

THE CURRENCY QUACKERY.

THE Currency Committee has made a bad start. Its composition and its objects have alike fallen under the deep condemnation of instructed opinion. The financial and commercial men of the City of London, the manufacturers and traders of Manchester, and the merchants and shippers of Glasgow, have followed one another in grave remonstrance with the Secretary of State. Mr. Hugh Colin Smith, the Governor of the Bank of England, speaking for London, pointed out to Lord George Hamilton that the official class are in the majority, a one-sided arrangement that Lord George himself had originally deprecated; and that, "as to the non-official members, it cannot be said, great as their ability is, that their names as a body will carry weight as practical men of experience in connexion with Indian commerce." The Manchester men implied, if they did not so frankly express, the same strength of adverse opinion on the composition of the Committee. The Glasgow men, with native plainness, roundly told Lord George that "the Committee named must fail to command public confidence." The united voices of London, Manchester, and Glasgow on a critical question of financial and commercial politics would not be lightly regarded by a prudent Minister. The adverse verdict has been swelled by opinion from India; and, on another page, we print a striking memorial from the Chairman of the Bombay Native Shares, Stocks, and Exchange Brokers' Association to Sir Henry Fowler, which also speaks a strong and reasoned opinion in the plainest terms. "The proposal of the Government of India," says the Association, "is not a scheme, but an experiment; and we want no further experiments in currency." More than that, "the experiment of the Government of India is bound to fail, for the hypotheses and reasons on which it is based are wrong." It is rotten, from top to bottom. "But whether it succeeds or whether it fails," the Association concludes, "the period during which the experiment lasts will be one of great tribulation to the country, and will spell ruin to all existing industries." We shall be surprised, however, if all these objurgations and vaticinations shake in the least the cheery optimism of Lord George Hamilton. On the contrary, they seem admirably calculated to give a fresh fillip to the Tapleyism of the India Office.

The most extraordinary thing of all, however, is the fact that there has not been placed on the Committee a single member that can with any propriety be said to represent the interests of the party most deeply concerned —that is, the Indian taxpayer. It may be that Lord George Hamilton considers that this obscure party is adequately represented by the official members. He is quite capable of imagining that all is done that is necessary to be done for the taxpayer when official members see to it that the proposal of the Government of India is successfully pushed; for, in that case, will not the taxpayer be put in a position to meet his sterling obligations in London? We have already, and more than once, pointed out and insisted upon the far wider interest of the Indian peoples in this matter. The question, as we have steadily urged, strikes far deeper than officialism seems to think; it comes home, with very especial force, to poor men's businesses and bosoms. The true state of the case was clearly set forth in the first resolution passed by the Conference of the London Indian Society last week; and it was enforced with lucid and irrefutable cogency by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, who, as will be seen in another column, is prepared to join with Mr. Martin Wood and Mr. R. C. Dutt in giving evidence before the Committee. The resolution said, *inter alia*:—

> that closing the mints or introducing the gold standard does not, and cannot, save a single farthing to the Indian taxpayers in their remittance for Home Charges; that closing the mints and thereby raising the true rupee of about 11d. of gold to a false rupee of 16d. of gold is a covert act of exacting 45 per cent. more taxation from the Indian taxpayers, and at the same time of increasing the salaries of officials and other payments in India by Government to the same extent; and that the introduction of a gold standard will simply add to the existing grievous burdens of the taxpayers, to the extent of the cost of the alteration.

The Government of India having ignored this all-important aspect of the situation, how can it be supposed that the official members of the Committee will be vigilant in keeping the vital interests of the taxpayer, and especially of the overburdened rayat, before their own minds, as well as the minds of the unofficial members? Mr. Broacha says, on behalf of the Bombay Native Shares, Stocks, and Exchange Brokers' Association, "the gaze of the Government of India does not soar beyond the 16d. rate of exchange. But exchange is not the country." That is the bottom fact of the business: "exchange is not the country." And the country—the taxpayer—the rayat—is not permitted to make his voice heard, by the agency of a competent and trusted representative, in a Committee so heavily charged with his weal or woe. The fact is a striking commentary on the official professions of justice and disinterestedness.

The true way of looking at the case is obvious to any unbiassed judgment. The government of India is a trust in the hands of England; and England, as trustee, is bound to look with a single mind to the highest advantage of India. We are quite aware of the danger that lies in analogies, and we do not press the trust too closely. At the same time the application of the term "trust" is no patent of ours; it is a commonplace of our public men, whether statesmen or bishops, or nonconformist divines, or philanthropists. And, after all, it is the best compendious expression of the fact. But, then, as must be admitted, the two countries have got so intimately involved that England herself has important interests in the speedy and right solution of existing difficulties. Happily, the proper course is plain. If the interests of India and of England conflict, then England is still clearly bound to act for the best advantage of India, be the disadvantage to her own interests what it may; or else she is bound to resign the trust, so as to be free to act for herself, and to enable India to take measures for her own safety. Otherwise, where is the sense or the sincerity of all the elevated talk about our "moral responsibility," which is so sanctimoniously paraded by Churchmen, by Front Bench orators, and especially by Indian Secretaries, present, past, and prospective? Do we realise this "moral responsibility" as a fact, or do we use the phrase simply to titillate our own vanity and to lull our conscience in an opium dream of self-righteousness? If India were free to act for herself—to act according to the judgment of the most

enlightened Indians—we know that this artificial stop-gap of a proposal for a gold standard would be instantly swept into the limbo of rejected absurdities. It will not do for our statesmen nowadays to scoff at experienced men of affairs who happen to be Indians by birth: the world has come to know better than that. Besides, in this particular case, the expert opinion of the worlds of finance, commerce, and manufacturing industry is decidedly at one with Indian opinion. And that opinion it is the plain bounden duty of the Secretary of State for India to respect and to enforce.

As a matter of fact, however, there is not a vestige of conflict of interest between India and England. All the more, therefore, is it the duty of the governing power to thwart the malefic schemes of those wrong-headed officials who are striving to force on the country a wholly unnecessary, futile, and disastrous monetary rearrangement, which will inevitably excite a conflict of the most galling character. How long shall we have to insist that the prosperity of India is the one thing necessary to bring contentment to the population, to bring relief to the finances, to increase the hum of industry in both countries, to add incalculably to the wealth both of Indians and of English manufacturers and traders? The contention is so obvious that one might as well argue for the validity of the Multiplication Table. No doubt, the authorities at Calcutta and at Whitehall wish for the prosperity of India as much as we do; but the fatal misfortune is that they are deflected from the straight course of action by the past history of egregiously mistaken and extravagant administration, which must be covered up from the popular view at all hazards. The thing cannot be done. They may, probably they will, go forward with their "experiment" — an experiment based, as the Association says, on wrong hypotheses and reasons. Their experiment will only carry them deeper into the morass on the edge of which they have been for some time floundering. "The promotion and carrying out of all enterprises," as Mr. Broacha truly forecasts, "will remain in suspense; the credit of the Government paper will sink to the lowest depth; and no trade can be carried on profitably under the chasm created by melting down 200 millions of rupees." Then England will be invoked to come to the rescue; and then, at last, the English public may be enabled to learn from the discussions at St. Stephen's where they stand. Their financial responsibility will bring home to them their "moral responsibility" in a manner that will at length effectively actualise it. We are by no means sure but this financial difficulty with the currency "experiment" is really a great blessing in disguise. The English people will not wake up to the condition of India except under the coercion of some calamity of exceptional magnitude; and a financial crash would be a less serious awakener than some such insurrectionary movement as the *Spectator* indicates. There is, we repeat, no conflict of interest between India and England. We add that there is no bar to the prosperity of India, or to the firm friendship of the two countries, except one; and that bar is the perverse attitude recently adopted and persistently maintained by the Government of India, and supported, if not prompted, by the profound ignorance or thoughtless levity of the India Office in Whitehall. And the latest symptom of this ruinous perversity is the currency quackery.

A HEROIC INDIAN DOCTOR.

THE other week we had occasion to express a favourable opinion upon the "Report on Bubonic Plague" at the Arthur Road Hospital, Bombay, by Khan Bahadur N. H. Choksy, an extra Assistant Health Officer under the Bombay Municipality. We then remarked the curious and meagre kind of official recognition which his services had met with. Now that more detailed information is before us, we may recur to the subject, in order to record both Dr. Choksy's noble work and the spontaneous opinion of expert observers upon it. Dr. Choksy's Report, which we had under notice, was based on 939 cases treated at the Arthur Road Hospital between September 24, 1896, and February 28, 1897. What struck us was the fact that Dr. Choksy was able, amid the constant and multifarious demands on his attention and energies, to preserve so full a history of the cases, and to work out such an ample comparative study on the points of essential importance, medical and social. Considering how little the nature and behaviour of the disease was understood, we think it would be difficult to over-rate the value of such a record, set forth so intelligently and lucidly. Now the *Times of India*, though it does not even mention Dr. Choksy's name—possibly on the assumption that everybody in Bombay, at any rate, knows his conspicuous services—enables us to bring the facts down to date. "In the nine months ending March 31," says our contemporary, "over 4,000 patients have been treated at the Arthur Road Hospital, nearly half of whom were plague cases, and of the remainder over 900 were relapsing fever, and over 200 cholera, while another 900 were cases of general disease. From October, 1896, to date, nearly 3,400 plague cases have been treated in this hospital, besides over 1,100 cases of relapsing fever." These figures indicate eloquently the magnitude of the work, the strain on the officers, and the responsibility of the chief.

As regards the strain on Dr. Choksy, we previously referred to the unpreparedness of the municipality to meet the sudden emergency of the first visitation. From November, 1896, to February, 1897, inclusive, the proportion of ward servants to patients fell steadily from 1 : 2 to 1 : 7. They were not to be had, even when the offered pay was double or triple the ordinary amount. Even when men were induced to overcome their extreme reluctance to join, "the number and the frequency of deaths, combined with the delirious condition of patients, used to frighten them; and indeed the sights and sounds of a plague ward in the dead of night, with the groans and moanings of the delirious patients," says Dr. Choksy, "were enough to appal the stoutest heart." So it was not till March, when the epidemic had begun to decline, that a reasonable sufficiency of assistance was available. Here then is striking testimony to the zeal and resolution with which Dr. Choksy devoted himself to the work, as well as to the difficulties under which he accomplished the tabulation of the facts. Happily, Dr. Thomas Blaney has come forward spontaneously to testify in the columns of the *Times of India* to the self-sacrificing and able work that Dr. Choksy did. Dr. Blaney is an Englishman—in the wide sense, at any rate. He has no superior in medical reputation in Bombay. He has served the community for a long term of years in various capacities, civil and official; and no man has done more than he for the safe sanitation of the great city. He has been conspicuously honoured by his fellow-citizens, Indian and European, without distinction of caste or colour. He has been professionally active in the efforts to combat the plague, and he is peculiarly fitted by personal knowledge, as well as by medical experience, to pass a thoroughly trustworthy judgment on Dr. Choksy's labours. And Dr. Blaney, speaking of the first plague visitation, says this:—

> Nothing was prepared for, nothing organised, and the heavy work Dr. Choksy was called upon to do had all to be extemporised to suit the occasion. This unpreparedness made the work doubly onerous on himself and his slender staff. But whether the work was onerous, trying and exhausting, as we know it was, the whole city knows that it was faithfully and zealously performed.

To Dr. Choksy's own mind, probably, as well as to the view of others, no higher satisfaction can be obtained than that which flows from the frank and spontaneous appreciation of an independent expert like Dr. Blaney.

But this is not all. When the plague declined, and the excitement of work was relaxed, Dr. Choksy began to pay the penalty. He became seriously ill. He consulted Dr. Blaney. "In fact," says Dr. Blaney, "the illness reduced him so much that I thought he could not be fit to return to work without going to Europe for a change, and I proposed to advise the Municipal Commissioners to get him this change." The sequel must be described in Dr. Blaney's own words:—

> While this medical certificate was under discussion, an epidemic of cholera followed the plague, and Dr. Choksy's hospital began to fill with cholera cases. Dr. Choksy was then able to walk about, but he was feeble, and his convalescence was decidedly slow. His family were very anxious to get him away to Europe, and I gave them all my sympathy. But what was my surprise when one morning I found my patient had gone, and was told that he had made up his mind to return to his duty because "there was very much to do, and he did not wish to be regarded as one who would shirk a duty." I need not go on with the narrative. The patient discarded his doctor, refused to be persuaded by my advice, or even the advice of his wife, went back to his hospital, worked as hard as ever, and saw the hospital through a cholera and a relapsing fever epidemic. I looked on with amazement and misgiving, confessing that if what I saw was not heroism it bore a close resemblance to that virtue.

It is undoubtedly heroism of a finer quality than ever won the Victoria Cross; and it is creditable to Dr. Blaney that he should have so handsomely put on record Dr. Choksy's devotion to duty.

There is yet a further aspect of the situation. There came to Bombay upwards of twenty savants accredited to the Bombay Government by their own Governments. "Austria, Germany, Russia, France, Italy, and Egypt," says Dr. Blaney, "all sent special sanitary experts." Arthur Road Hospital being the largest plague hospital in the city, they all made frequent visits there, where, adds Dr. Blaney, "I had the honour and the pleasure of meeting a majority of them." Again let Dr. Blaney speak:—

> To the best of my belief, Dr. Choksy received no special or general instructions to receive and afford what professional aid he could to the visitors. Nevertheless, he received them on all occasions of their visits with true professional courtesy and friendliness, giving up to them all the time he could afford, showing and discussing with them all the most important cases in his wards for days and weeks together. In providing microscopic objects and *post mortem* cases, Dr. Choksy was assiduous and obliging, neglecting nothing that might aid his medical friends in their investigations. . . . . If all this attention, courtesy, and kindness had been enjoined upon Dr. Choksy by Government as a duty and a public obligation, it could not have been better or more cordially carried out by the representative professional officer of the Bombay Government.

Dr. Blaney well describes Dr. Choksy's hospitality as the carrying out of "an international obligation"; and he says, truly enough, that the remembrance of his courtesy in coming years "will all go to the credit of the Government of India." "My reflections on the reception and treatment of the foreign savants," says Dr. Blaney, "amounts to this, that Dr. Choksy was the right man in the right place, and our Government should be proud of him."

Yes, "our Government should be proud of him." But are they? How do they show it? Have they done by Dr. Choksy as they would have done by an Englishman in similar circumstances? Even the *Times of India*, we infer, thinks not. Our contemporary learns from Berlin that two members of the German Commission, Dr. Gaffky and Dr. Pfeiffer, have received an honorarium of 15,000 marks each, with the Order of the Red Eagle of the second class, and that Dr. Stricker and Dr. Dieudonné have received 9,000 marks each, with the Order of the Red Eagle of the third class. What for? For three months' plague work in India. And what appreciation has been shown by the English Government to Dr. Choksy, whose prolonged and heroic labours are incomparably more conspicuous, and who was, to use the expression of Dr. Blaney, "their clinical tutor"? Nor should we omit to mention at the same time the work of Surgeon-Major Barry and Surgeon-Captain Lloyd Jones at Poona. "In considering the rewards which the German Government have bestowed upon scientists of its own, whose plague work had none of the harassing anxieties that accompany prolonged fighting with an epidemic, one asks," as the *Times of India* asks, "what scale of recognition that Government would apply if it some day had to deal with a visitation such as that with which members of the Indian Medical Service and of the Indian medical profession have been occupied for the past eighteen months?" At any rate they would probably rise above "Khan Bahadur" and distinguish between an eminent professional man and a glorified policeman or postrunner. Perhaps the Government of India seeks to teach the lesson that virtue is its own reward—that is to say, when it is Indians that are virtuous.

REGENERATION OF THE RAYAT.

By an English Zemindar.

THE continued exertions of Sir William Wedderburn to ameliorate the condition of the rural population of India by impressing on the Government the necessity of establishing Village Banks, are beginning to influence the people of our great Dependency. Recent accounts from India inform us that two Jhat communities in a district in the Punjab have been stirred in this direction. The Jhats, it is well known, are the best cultivators in Upper India, and by their industry and intelligence become in their village communities comparatively well-to-do. The ordinary cultivator, however, in position and means, is far below the Jhat. The proceedings of these two Jhat communities clearly indicate the necessity for action, which has been too long delayed by Government in the matter; and the Government should at once start some scheme in the direction of village banks for the amelioration of the poor rayat of India. Those who know India at all well understand that a great and comprehensive measure for the assistance of the impoverished village cultivators must, in the first instance, for some years at least, be taken up seriously by the Government. Out of the 300 millions of India it is estimated that 240 millions live in the villages. That poverty is the normal condition of these millions is beyond dispute. The state of the ordinary Indian peasant is one bordering on starvation from his birth to the grave, and millions of these fellow-subjects of ours every night of their lives lie down to sleep hungry in their village huts; yet they patiently endure it! These dismal facts are now well known.

What is the cause of this poverty, and what is the remedy proposed? First as to the cause. Bad seasons will from time to time occur; the rayat's crops fail, and his rent, re-assessed by Government every thirty years at fifty per cent. per annum on the productive capacity of the land, has to be paid, or he will be ejected from his holding. In his need the rayat goes to the village Bania or money-lender—a veritable Shylock—and a loan is contracted and interest has to be paid at a rate varying from 40 to 75 per cent. per annum, according to the borrower's financial standing. Once in the books of the village money-lender, it is almost hopeless for the rayat ever to pay off the debt with its accruing interest and compound interest; and so the poor fellow goes on from year to year getting more and more miserably involved. The rayat, too, on his father's death, almost invariably takes over his father's debt to the village money-lender, and this he religiously—sometimes all his life—strives to pay. Be it stated to the credit of the poor struggling rayat, he is honest, hard-working, and intensely frugal, and is more willing and desirous of meeting his painfully heavy pecuniary burdens than the majority of people one meets with in European lands. This honourable character of the rayat has been even officially endorsed. It is, indeed, beyond all intelligent dispute.

Having very briefly pointed out the principal causes of the rayat's poverty, let us now consider the remedy proposed to meet his case, and thus assist India's teeming millions. Undoubtedly the best remedy is to help the rayat to help himself into a prosperous condition. His prosperity is the best "Famine Insurance Fund" that could be devised. Get the rayat prosperous and he will be able, out of his own means, to provide himself and family with food during the periodical famines which devastate the land, and the Government will be relieved of the expenditure, from time to time incurred, of tens of millions of rupees in famine relief, and the world will be saved the sad spectacle, witnessed last year in the Central Provinces, of thousands of our emaciated fellow-subjects dying by the roadside of sheer starvation.

But the question may be asked, How can you make the rayat prosperous and independent, when you admit he is deeply in debt? The remedy proposed is the introduction of village banks. In the rayat's village his circumstances are well known. His character for hard work, honesty, and integrity are beyond dispute; and these, coupled with the value of his little holding, will be the security on which he can get advances from the village bank, on moderate interest, in his time of need.

In Italy and Germany the peasant farmers not very many years ago were involved in a way similar to the Indian rayat, through having to pay usurious interest to grasping money-lenders; and the introduction of village banks has brought them to prosperity and independence. Given the same involved pecuniary condition of the peasant cultivator of India as was the case in Italy and Germany, and apply the same remedy in India as has been applied with such marked success on the Continent, and the same happy results of prosperity and independence will infallibly be the result.

Let the Government take the matter seriously in hand—and that at once. To begin with, let them take as an experiment, say, two or three districts in each Province; and let them select an enterprising collector for each district, charging him with the establishment of village banks throughout his jurisdiction. Much depends on the personal influence of the collector in his district, but India

is happy in possessing the finest Civil Service in the world, and this service abounds with men eminently suited for such work. Let them give the collector additional assistance to help him with his other district duties; for it is undoubtedly true that the district officers are already over-worked in preparing returns and reports for the different departments of Government. Let the collector have a free hand to suit his system of organisation of the village banks to the requirements of his particular district; and it will be seen that after two or three years his interesting labours will have worked quite a revolution in the present poverty-stricken rayat, and this with little or no expense to the Indian taxpayer. With the experience thus gained after the first year, village banks can be started throughout the length and breadth of the whole land, bringing happiness and prosperity to rural India and her teeming millions.

Among men familiar with the facts, be they officials, or be they private citizens, there is no possible doubt that the present disastrous condition of the struggling poverty-stricken Indian cultivator is most serious, and demands an immediate remedy. Let the Government at once look the matter in the face, and let the remedy herein suggested be applied without further loss of time. The experiment can have only one issue—the prosperity and the independence of the poor and miserable rayat; and this means the highest triumph of English statesmanship in India.

OUR LONDON LETTER.

(FROM A PARLIAMENTARY CORRESPONDENT.)

If Mr. Chaplin were to leave the House of Commons, his place would be difficult to fill, in more senses than one. His speeches have a sonorous and polysyllabic charm all their own, and he is never so great as when enlarging on a small subject. Thus on Thursday last he sought, as President of the Local Government Board, to insert some clauses into a private water bill, making a water company which supplies impure water liable. I shall never forget his explanation of this matter—how he imagined, opined, considered, and thought that this step would be useful, not to say beneficial; that it would aid, help, and assist all sorts of local authorities. In a word, Mr. Chaplin enjoyed himself thoroughly, and sat down, good easy man, a picture of smiling content. But member after member rose, some on his side of the House, and explained that this was a matter for a public bill, that the law of the land should not be altered in this way by a private act; and while these speeches were being delivered the Chaplinian countenance lengthened. Only for a moment did hope seem to flit across that expressive face—it was when Mr. Sydney Buxton rose and said, "I am very glad that these clauses have been introduced." Mr. Chaplin smiled and raised his hat; "and," continued Mr. Buxton, "I hope they will be at once withdrawn." After that, there was nothing for it. Half an hour before, Mr. Chaplin had conceived it to be his duty to himself, the House, and humanity in general, to press these clauses through. Now he said with equal solemnity: "I should be guilty of a grievous error of judgment, if not of something worse, if I did not at once withdraw them." So that little farce ended.

Nor was that the only strange incident on Thursday. At the beginning of the sitting Mr. Balfour moved the suspension of the 12 o'clock rule, so that the report stage of the Benefices Bill might be finished. The Opposition voted against that, and men talked grimly of an all-night sitting. But it was all over by half-past seven, and an hour later the Government had done all its work and moved the adjournment of the House. Some of the Opposition were very indignant and divided the House on it. Thus the same men first voted against sitting late, and then against rising early!

The chief interest in Friday's sitting was to be found in its first and last proceedings. To begin with, the Welsh members moved the adjournment of the House to discuss the terrible lock-out in the South Wales coal districts, which is causing appalling misery. The speeches delivered reached a high order of merit and eloquence, for the Welshmen are nearly all able speakers. By no means the least impressive was the rough and touching speech of Mr. W. Abraham, known in his own land as "Mabon." Though he pleaded for the men of his own class and race passionately, his speech was all the time reasonable in tone. Indeed they all were, and it was made abundantly evident that whichever side might be responsible for the commencement of hostilities, the masters are certainly responsible for their continuance. For Mr. Ritchie said he was willing and eager to let the Board of Trade act as a conciliator. But before that could be done, both sides must express a wish for such intervention. The men have done so; it therefore follows that the masters are standing out. What is wanted in this matter is a statesman, some one who can rise above the technicalities of a department and face a difficulty which is really national in its importance.

There was a big coal lock-out when the late Government was in office, and there was no Conciliation Act of 1896 to help them. Yet Lord Rosebery settled the matter. I am afraid Mr. Ritchie has become fearful and faint-hearted. He began well in connection with the Lord Penrhyn dispute, but the outcry of some of the Tories who love not Mr. Ritchie, because he comes from the middle classes, has scared him.

I have said that there was also an interesting incident at the end of Friday's sitting. Last week I explained that Sir John Gorst's afflictingly candid speech about the inferiority of Voluntary schools had caused much pain in what are called "Churchy" circles. The Cecils are among the most advanced section of the Church party in the House, and of the Cecils, Lord Hugh is by far the ablest. He rose, and with vehement bitterness attacked Sir John Gorst for his speech, saying that that speech had deeply wounded a large number of the supporters of and teachers in Voluntary schools. These people vehemently denied that the religious teaching in the Board schools was superior to that in the Voluntary. "In my opinion," ended the pale, studious-looking aristocrat, "my right hon. friend should not use his great position as Minister of the Crown to make accusations of this kind." Sir John's reply was mild. He had always acknowledged that the religious teaching in the country Voluntary schools was better than that of the country Board schools. And in the case of London, the Board schools were superior, not in general religious education, but only in Bible teaching. Sir John may not have meant to do so, but the impression he gave was that he did not reckon Bible teaching of much account. He added that he thought it was for the interest of the Voluntary schools that the truth should be told and not hushed up. It was an interesting little incident, and coming so soon after the Salisbury and Chamberlain exchange of compliments, and the gibes of the Chancellor of the Exchequer at the Colonial Secretary, it was significant.

On Monday another Cecil entered the House, Mr. Evelyn Cecil having had a skin-of-the-teeth return in East Hertfordshire. The Salisbury family now outnumber the Chamberlain family and retinue combined, and for the time Hatfield triumphs over Highbury.

There was a curious proposal made by the Government on Monday. Last year we lent the Khedive £789,000 on behalf of the Khartoum expedition. That expedition was "justified" on many grounds, and indeed it would seem that Lord Cromer is as ready at "making a pretext" in Egypt as ever Lord Lytton was in India. It is unnecessary to go over them now, for the one thing which was not said was that the expedition was for the good of this country, or that this country would have to pay. On the contrary, we were assured that Egypt could and would pay. And now the Chancellor of the Exchequer, still declaring that Egypt is splendidly prosperous, said it would simplify matters if we called this loan a gift. If we did, he said, Egypt would not want any more; though I cannot see how we can assure ourselves that they will not again have to "simplify matters." Of course, the House granted the money. There has never been so obedient a majority as this; and, as the sum in question came to less than a million, they seemed rather impatient at considering the matter at all.

Mr. Labouchere took the opportunity of delivering a singularly outspoken speech, in which much sound sense was mixed up with characteristic humour. He was particularly effective in his denunciation of the cant of Ministers who talk of philanthropy when they are "on the grab." I watched both Lord George Hamilton and Sir H. Fowler when these passages were being uttered, and their look of far-away unconscious innocence was very edifying indeed. Many of Mr. Labouchere's remarks could have been applied as forcibly, and even more forcibly, to our policy in India, especially his scathing references to the insane passion the Government has for hunting out the most barren and worthless portions of the world over which to waste treasure and pour out British and other blood. The speech will be good for the public. It made not the slightest effect on the Tories, who simply sit in the smoke-room until the talking is over and then troop in to vote.

On Tuesday Mr. Herbert Lewis asked a question of no little interest. He wanted to know whether a Press Committee had been established at Poona; who was responsible for its creation; and what were the contemplated duties as described to the persons appointed or invited to become members. Lord George Hamilton's reply acknowledged that the Bombay Government was considering the appointment of committees in certain towns for the purpose of keeping responsible officials aware of what was in the local papers. These bodies would be of a consultative character, and would have no executive responsibility. And then he added: "the law of India does not admit of the exercise of any censorship of the Press." It seems, therefore, that the authorities mean to have a very good imitation! The rest of the sitting was devoted to the third reading of the Benefices Bill, when Sir William Harcourt renewed his attack on the Ritualists, and to the further consideration of the

Prisons Bill, as to which it may be said roughly that the Liberals are in favour of more humanity being shown in our prison system, and the Tories less.

CHRONICLE OF THE WEEK.

THURSDAY, June 23.—The result of yesterday's polling in East Herts was declared at Hertford. Mr. Evelyn Cecil (Conservative) was returned, receiving 4,118 votes, against 3,850 recorded for Mr. C. R. Spencer (Liberal). There was no contest in 1895. At the previous election (1892) the Conservative majority was 1,458. This formidable figure has now been reduced to 268. The result corroborates the acknowledgment of the *Times* itself that "the position of the Government has been seriously weakened."

The landing of General Shafter's troops in Cuba was substantially completed. The New York correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* suggested that there was a growing appreciation at Washington of the strength of the Spanish forces in Cuba. An important engagement was expected immediately.

"Important changes" were reported as impending in China; and a Peking telegram stated that "general uneasiness prevails in the Chinese official world."

Mr. Schreiner's motion of want of confidence in the Cape Ministry was carried by 41 votes to 36. The Ministry decided to dissolve.—A Pretoria telegram reported the crossing of a Transvaal volunteer force over the Swaziland border, with a burgher advance guard.

The court-martial sitting at Milan passed very harsh sentences on several journalists and others who were said to have been implicated in the recent riots.

FRIDAY, June 24.—A meeting was held in the Church House, Westminster, to promote the extension of Church work in India. The Archbishop of York presided, and among those present were the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Calcutta.

A big battle was reported at New York as having taken place near Santiago; and, though there was no confirmation of this from other sources, it was pretty certain that the Americans were steadily pressing the Spaniards back on the city. The Americans were closing up on Fort Morro. The landing of General Shafter's troops had been partially delayed by bad weather.

At Madrid, the Minister of Marine declared in the Cortes that "Admiral Camara's squadron was going to the Philippines, where it would defend the Spanish flag." The responsibility for the origin and the conduct of the war was warmly discussed in the Senate.

The Hong Kong correspondent of the *Times* reported that the French were meeting with much opposition in Kwang-chau-wan. The native pilot who brought in the French warships had been killed, and the natives refused to sell provisions to the French garrison.—The Peking correspondent of the *Times* stated that M. Pavloff's protest against the Niuchwang railway extension declared that the Hong Kong and Shanghai Bank railway loan "must not be agreed to in any circumstances."

M. Peytral was still constructing a Cabinet.—M. Joseph Reinach appeared in uniform as an officer of the cavalry reserve before a military court of enquiry on a charge of defaming the military authorities in an article in a Paris journal on the Dreyfus-Esterhazy case. The proceedings were secret. The Court decided that M. Reinach's conduct justified his dismissal from the reserve. M. Reinach will appeal to the Council of State.

SATURDAY, June 25.—Two portraits by Romney—the Marchioness of Townshend and Mme. Susan Jouenne—were sold at the rooms of Messrs. Christie, Manson, and Woods, in London, for 5,200 and 3,000 guineas respectively.

A severe skirmish was reported as having taken place yesterday morning at Juragua, between the landing-place of the American troops and Santiago. The Americans were 1,000; the Spaniards, 2,000. The American Rough-Riders under Colonel Roosevelt were caught on a narrow trail amidst dense undergrowth by a body of Spaniards entrenched on the hill-side. They lost 17 killed, and about 50 wounded, while the Spanish loss, though unknown, is believed to have been heavy. The Spanish official account claimed a victory, but admitted that, in consequence of the weakening of the outer line of defence at Santiago, General Linares "was induced to retire and entrench his men."—Admiral Camara's squadron, consisting of the battleship "Pelayo," one armoured and two auxiliary cruisers, three torpedo-boats, and five transports with 4,000 troops, arrived at Port Said.—The New York correspondent of the *Times* stated that General Merritt's expedition to the Philippines, 6,000 strong, will leave San Francisco on Wednesday. He also reported that Santiago will be made a base of supplies for an expedition under General Miles against Puerto Rico.

The Sugar Conference met at Brussels, and declared unanimously in favour of entrusting the Belgian Government with the task of carrying on diplomatic negotiations upon controverted questions with a view to the formulation of international proposals that should constitute a serious basis for final discussion.

M. Peytral failed to form a Cabinet. President Faure sent for M. Brisson, who consented to attempt the task.

The King of Italy accepted the resignation of the Marquis di Rudini's Cabinet, and entrusted General Pelloux with the formation of a new Cabinet.

SUNDAY, June 26.—An "Anti-Famine" demonstration was held in Trafalgar Square, London, under the auspices of the Social Democratic Federation. A protest was made against the "cornering" of the national food supply, and sympathy was expressed with the attitude of the Italian people during the recent bread riots.

M. Brisson definitely undertook to form a Cabinet, and made some progress with his task.

The Berlin correspondent of the *Times* reported the results of the first and second ballots at the General Election, so far as yet ascertained, to be as follows (the strength of parties in the Reichstag at the dissolution being given in brackets): Conservatives, 62 (57); Free Conservatives, 22 (25); National Liberals, 47 (50); Anti-Semites, 12 (12); Clericals, 101 (101); Poles, 14 (20); Radical Left, 30 (28); Moderate Radicals, 14 (13); South-German Democrats, 8 (12); Socialists, 55 (48); Alsatians, 8 (9); Dane, 1 (1); unattached, 2; Agrarian League, 3. Included in the numbers of the Clericals are seven Hanoverian Guelphs, and the strength of the Guelph faction remains the same as it was in the last Reichstag. Thus, 379 seats are accounted for out of a total of 397. It is not anticipated that the outstanding results of the remaining eighteen second ballots will materially affect the balance of parties. In the general opinion the complexion of the new Reichstag will not be essentially different from that of its predecessor. But the Social Democrats will be stronger by eight or ten seats.

MONDAY, June 27.—It was officially announced by the Navy Department at Washington that a squadron under Commodore Watson will at once proceed to the coast of Spain. The Commodore will take with him the "Newark" (flagship), two battleships, and three cruisers, with three colliers in attendance. This action was said to have been prompted by the news of the arrival of Admiral Camara at Port Said, and it is expected to bring home to the Spanish people the realities of war and impress them with the inevitable results of the campaign. Meantime, according to the Madrid correspondent of the *Times*, it is taken by the Spaniards merely as proof that the Washington Government is alarmed at the prospect of Admiral Camara's approach to Manila. The peace movement in Catalonia was reported to be gaining in strength. Many men were being thrown out of employment, and discontent threatened public disorder.

The Americans pressed closer on Santiago, but supplies and guns must be landed and brought up before an attack on the city. The Spaniards expected reinforcements from Manzanilla, which were known to be on the way.

A Note was issued by the French Foreign Office stating that the concession for the Peking-Han-kau Railway has been granted to the Franco-Belgian Syndicate.

M. Brisson had almost arranged his Cabinet. It was said to be composed exclusively of Radical or Advanced Republicans.

TUESDAY, June 28.—The 60th anniversary of the coronation of the Queen was commemorated in London with the usual ceremonial.

President McKinley issued proclamations of the blockade of the southern ports of Cuba, and of San Juan in Puerto Rico. Off San Juan, Captain Sigsbee of the auxiliary cruiser "St. Paul" (formerly of the exploded "Maine") disabled the Spanish torpedo-boat destroyer "Terror", which (with a cruiser) had made a dash at him. The American preparations for an attack on Santiago were being pushed forward strenuously.

The Governor-General of the Philippines reported to Madrid that the situation at Manila was as grave as ever, the difficulties of the defence increasing. Aguinaldo had called on the Captain-General to surrender, but his proposals had been rejected. There was no serious apprehension of immediate bombardment.

M. Brisson definitively constituted his Cabinet. The members are: M. Brisson, Premier and Minister of the Interior; M. Delcassé, Foreign Affairs; M. Peytral, Finance; M. Sarrien, Justice; M. Léon Bourgeois, Education and Public Worship; M. Cavaignac, War; M. Lockroy, Marine; M. Trouillot, Colonies; M. Maruéjouls, Commerce; M. Viger, Agriculture; M. Tillaye, Public Works. The outgoing Méline Ministry lasted twenty-six months, the longest Ministry under the Third Republic.

WEDNESDAY, June 29.—Lord Herschell, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir R. Cartwright (Minister of Trade and Commerce for Canada), Sir L. H. Davies (Minister of Marine and Fisheries for Canada), and Mr. J. Charlton (a member of the Dominion House of Commons) were appointed her Majesty's High Commissioners in pursuance of the agreement signed at Washington on May 30 for the appointment of a joint com-

mission for the adjustment of questions in difference between the United States and Canada.

The Spanish defence at Santiago was admitted by the American commanders to be formidable, but their tone was confident. The health of the American troops was reported to be remarkably good, there being fewer than 150 men on the sick list.

The New York correspondent of the *Times* doubted the completeness of the alleged understanding between the German and the American governments as to the temporary character of the presence of German vessels at Manila. General Merritt sailed from San Francisco to take command of the American land forces in the Philippines.

The new Italian Ministry was definitively formed, General Pelloux, the Premier, taking the portfolio of the Interior.

THE COMMITTEE ON CURRENCY.

OFFER OF INDIAN EVIDENCE.

The Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Currency Committee:—

To the Secretary of the Currency Committee,
India Office, S.W.

Sir,—The British Committee of the Indian National Congress are very desirous that the Currency Committee should have before them witnesses competent to set forth the case of the Indian taxpayer, whose interest will be seriously affected by the Currency proposals of the Government of India. I shall therefore esteem it a favour if you will submit to your Committee the names of the following gentlemen, who are willing to give evidence. They have had long experience in Indian affairs, and have made a special study of Indian economic questions: Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, late Member of the Bombay Legislative Council; Mr. Martin Wood, late Editor of the *Times of India;* and Mr. R. C. Dutt, Bengal Civil Service, retired.

To the British Committee it appears that the closing of the mints has not given, and cannot give, any real relief to the Indian taxpayer in respect of the heavy remittances he has to make for "Home Charges" in sterling. On the contrary, the Indian taxpayer, who must make his payments in rupees, has been subjected to an increased burden by the artificial rise in the value of the rupee; and this increase of burden is not limited to the amount of the Home Charges, but affects the whole amount levied from the people of India.

Similarly the adoption of a gold standard, in the manner proposed, will afford no relief to the Indian taxpayer in respect of the quantity of produce he must send to England; while on the other hand the cost of introducing the new standard will be heavy, and will involve a very serious increase to the fiscal burdens.

Stating the case generally, from the point of view of the Indian taxpayer, it appears that the effect of artificially raising the value of the rupee, and of introducing a gold standard, will be to increase the burden of taxation, and to damage the economic position of the masses who for the most part belong to the debtor class.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,
W. WEDDERBURN,
Chairman.

Office of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress, June 25, 1898.

IMPORTANT INDIAN MEMORIAL.

"WE WANT NO FURTHER EXPERIMENTS."

THE following is a copy of a memorial from the Chairman of the Bombay Native Shares, Stocks and Exchange Brokers' Association to Sir Henry Fowler, Chairman of the Indian Currency Committee:—

The Despatch No. 70, dated March 3, 1898, of the Government of India to her Majesty's Secretary of State for India carries such wide-reaching consequences to the industries and trade of this country, that I am directed by the Committee of the Bombay Native Shares, Stocks and Exchange Brokers' Association to address the following observations thereon to the Currency Committee appointed by the House of Commons at the instance of the Secretary of State for India.

2. All parties in this country are agreed, including the Chambers of Commerce and the Government of India, that the transition period of the limping standard is intolerable, and should be soon put an end to, either by the adoption of the gold standard or reverting back to the silver standard. Yet the Government of India in their despatch propose to protract the agony in an intensified form for a further period of two, three, or four years, as an experiment, without the promise of a finality which should be the sole object of any further legislation.

3. My Committee, with the utmost deference, and after due consideration, submit that the Government of India, in their despatch under observation, have made large assumptions, and have ascribed effect to causes not altogether the right ones. The Government of India in paragraph 9 of their despatch state: "Our total rupee currency is estimated to be at present somewhere about 120 crores, to which we have to add 10 crores of fiduciary circulation of currency notes. This amount may, therefore, be said to have been ascertained by experience to be much more than is consistent with a maintenance of a rate of sixteenpence in the season of inactive trade, and to be a little more than is consistent with that rate at the time of active trade." Dominated by such an idea the Government of India has proposed to melt down about 20 crores rupees in two or three years, or more if necessary to reduce the great redundancy of rupee currency. This has set the people conjecturing as to what should constitute a monetary stringency according to the notions of the Government of India; for from November 1896 to July 1897 the Presidency Banks' rate ruled from 8 to 12 per cent., and again from December 1897 up to date has ruled from 10 to 13 per cent. Even these rates were more or less nominal, for more often than not the Presidency Banks have absolutely refused to make advances at all, even on Government paper and gold at any rate of interest. Natives who had in recent years taken more kindly to investment in Government paper as a safe and liquid security, on which they could confidently rely for accommodation in times of pressure and difficulty, have found it during the last two years a broken reed. The result is that that security has declined 15 per cent. during the last twenty months. That no accommodation could be had during these periods of stringency on real property or other sound security goes without saying.

4. The assumption by the Government of India that by the combined effect of great stringency of money and curtailment of currency they will not only be able to maintain the rupee at 16d., but will induce a flow of gold into this country to pass as currency during the melting period and after, arises from a serious mistake, if not ignorance of the causes that govern exchange between the gold countries and India, tied down as she is at present with the limping standard. The exchange between a group of gold countries is determined by the rate of interest and the cost of freight, insurance and commission of remitting gold from one country to the other. The exchange between the gold and silver countries is determined by the price of silver in the market. But the exchange between gold countries and India with a limping standard is determined by exports and imports alone. Whether the exchange should rule high or low, near to or further from 16d., depends on the amount of the excess of the exports over the imports. In order to keep exchange somewhere in the neighbourhood of the legal maximum, 16d., India should export produce and raw and manufactured goods more than she imports them by the sums equal to (1) Secretary of State's drawings; (2) about 10 crores for payment of gold and silver for arts and ornaments; and (3) about five to six crores of private remittances. But as these adjustments could not be made month by month and day by day, the rate of exchange will generally be at its maximum between January and June, when the exports vastly preponderate over the imports; and it will be at its minimum between July and December, when the imports preponderate, tempered by the state of the rains throughout the country and an anticipation of the character of the busy season in respect to the other markets of the world. Stringency of money has absolutely nothing whatever to do in the determination of exchange with India. Stringency could only be relieved by the import of foreign capital; and who will venture to remit capital to this country without the assurance of its return without loss? Given the condition of a great stringency of money, the curtailment of currency by melting down to half, and a 20 to 30 per cent. bank rate of interest, and yet if the excess of the export over the import of produce is not more than say 15 crores, which are sufficient to pay only for the import of precious metals and private remittances, but which leave no margin to pay the Secretary of State's drafts, then India must either borrow in sterling to pay her foreign indebtedness amounting to 17 or 18 millions sterling, or the exchange must drop to the silver point. There may be years when the exports of goods are equal to the imports of goods, or even less, as it sometimes happens with the United States of America, and the borrowing to pay our indebtedness may in such years be even found too large for India.

5. When the Government of India attribute the rise of exchange to its present level and state the principle in the paragraph 2 of their despatch, "that the contraction in the volume of our silver currency, with reference to the demands of trade, has the direct effect of raising its exchangeable value in relation to gold," they either labour under a serious mistake or ignore the facts patent to all. The causes of the rise of exchange to its present level are the large borrowings in England by the suspension of Council Bills, and a large railway programme since the closing of the mints, and thereby increasing for the time the balance of trade in India's favour. The fall of exchange to silver point was arrested during the years 1893-94 by the suspension of Council Bills, and by large sterling borrowings in England. The rise of exchange during the years 1896-98 is owing to the further suspension of Council Bills, owing to famine and war, which made necessary further

large sterling borrowings. The borrowing since the closing of the mints must have been over 25 millions sterling. If the rate of exchange is maintained for the last six months in the neighbourhood of 16d. it is owing to the earlier borrowings, and the vast preponderance of the export over the import owing to the most bountiful harvests in India, and the world wanting all our surplus produce at high prices.

6. The stringency of money has not helped exchange. The causes of the present stringency are (1) large withdrawal of floating foreign capital at the maximum rate of exchange; (2) the lock-up of rupees received for revenue in Government treasuries. Both these causes would have weakened exchange, were it not for the present great preponderance of the excess of the exports over the imports. The first by buying for remittance, and the second by clogging and hampering the free flow of produce for export to the sea-board which makes the sales of Exchange Bills. The exchange has, therefore, remained strong not because of the great stringency, but in spite of it. From middle of June when Government treasuries are being emptied by disbursements, and vast sums sent up country for the payment of produce return to Presidency towns for the purchase of precious metals, piece-goods, machinery and tools from foreign countries, thereby making the imports larger than the exports, the exchange will decline. It will not be because of the redundancy, but because of the trade-wheel turning the other way. Last month, when the Finance Minister refused to lend to the Bank of Bombay on Government paper to finance the internal trade of the country, for the reason that the Secretary of State was prepared to sell all that was asked, he lost sight of the fact that foreign trade and inland trade are distinct and apart. The middleman who wants money to bring the produce from the interior to the sea-board to sell to the exporters, has no gold reserve in London to buy Secretary of State's drafts; but he has Government securities, property and produce which the artificial policy of the Government made unborrowable and unsaleable.

7. The proposal of the Government of India to melt rupees and sell as silver will keep exchange steady in the neighbourhood of 16d. only during the period the process lasts. But that will not be owing to the curtailment of currency, but to the prohibition of the import of foreign silver by Government under-selling all comers, and thereby increasing the balance of trade in India's favour. The Government of India seem to see the force of this dimly in the paragraph 15 of their despatch, which runs: "We may observe that our proposed selling of silver, in addition to its direct effect on the rate of exchange, would also have a not unimportant indirect effect, inasmuch as the operation would meet the demand for silver in India, and thus increase for the time the balance of trade that has to be discharged by Council Bill remittances." If the word "*direct*" were substituted for the word "indirect" it would exactly meet the contention. But at the end of three years, or rather at the end of the period of process of melting, as the Government do not promise nor intend to give a sovereign for every 15 rupees, the fluctuations in exchange will be restored to the same state as before the declaration of war against the so-called redundant currency. The time the Government experiment lasts will be utilised, not to bring fresh capital into this country, but to convert as much as possible foreign capital employed in this country into gold, or to put it on a gold basis. Banking and investing capital is very timid, and trusts only to the certainty that it should not suffer in bulk when returning; and that certainty could only be had by the Government of India undertaking an unlimited liability like the Government of the United States of America.

8. The sale of the metal melted from every 10 crores of rupees would not bring to the treasury the six crores of rupees the Government of India estimate. India eliminated from the market of the world as a large and every-day buyer of silver, must bring the price of that metal down to 20 pence or even lower. But the loss of a few crores more or less, to use the phrase of the Despatch No. 70, "is a subordinate matter" compared to the revolution our trade with China would undergo by a further fall in exchange of 20 or 25 per cent. The further diminution that our already dwindling opium revenue will suffer, although it may be a source of satisfaction to the purists, yet it will be a grim reality to our rayats. The largest excess of export over import which enables us to pay our foreign debt is derived from our trade with China and the East. Government should foster it, and not kill it. Why lop off the branch that gives us the greatest support?

9. As the whole scheme of the Government of India is based on wrong hypotheses, the accumulation by borrowing 20 millions sterling in gold in the treasury of the Government will only entail heavy charges in interest without bringing us any nearer to a gold standard. This gold is to be kept intact and apart, for the Government say "it is not our intention to part with any of the gold until" a gold circulation is established by capital flowing into this country in blind faith in the scheme of the Government of India. Capital could have no faith in a scheme in which the authors of the scheme have none.

10. In the opinion of my Committee a gold standard could only be established in this country either by the Government of India accumulating large reserves of gold, and by undertaking an unlimited liability to exchange gold for rupees, or by the Government of the United Kingdom undertaking a liability to allow rupees to circulate in England at 16 pence. But as neither is immediately practicable, the scheme associated with the name of Mr. A. M. Lindsay and attached to the Despatch No. 70 offers a present solution. It involves no great accumulation of gold, and what it requires will be required tentatively and in driblets. Under the scheme, as gold is not to be sent out to this country, it will raise no alarm or distrust of the banking classes in England. But this scheme also involves the Government of India in an unlimited liability which, according to Sir James Westland, they are not prepared to face.

11. The proposal of the Government of India in their Despatch No. 70 is not a scheme but an experiment; and we want no further experiments in currency. The traders of this country since 1873 have accustomed themselves to suit their business to the great fluctuations of exchange; and until a final scheme is evolved, they would rather prefer to work under the limping standard, tempered by the Government of India allowing the use in the busy season of the surplus funds accumulated in the treasuries by the collection of revenues. The gaze of the Government of India does not soar beyond the 16d. rate of exchange. But exchange is not the country. The experiment of the Government of India is bound to fail, for the hypotheses and reasons on which it is based are wrong; but whether it succeeds or whether it fails, the period during which the experiment lasts will be one of great tribulation to this country, and will spell ruin to all existing industries. The promotion and carrying out of all enterprises will remain in suspense, the credit of the Government Paper will sink to the lowest depth, and no trade could be carried on profitably under the chasm created by melting down 200 millions of rupees.—

Yours, etc., (Sd.) S. B. Broacha,

Chairman of the Bombay Native Shares, Stocks and Exchange Brokers' Association.

Bombay, May 28, 1898.

Imperial Parliament.

Thursday, June 23.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases).—Petition from Glasgow, against State regulation; to lie upon the Table.

PAPERS PRESENTED.

East India (Cantonments Act and Regulations),—Copy presented—of the Cantonments Act, 1897, and of the Cantonment Regulations, published October 15, 1897 (by command); to lie upon the Table.

THE COURSE OF BUSINESS.

Mr. Balfour, in making a statement as to the course of public business, said that he proposed to take next Monday the Committee stage of the East India Loan Bill, which ought to pass into law without further delay.

THE NEW LOAN BILL.
COMMITTEE STAGE.

Rapid progress having been made with the other business on the Paper, the House shortly after seven o'clock went into Committee on the East India Loan Bill, Mr. J. W. Lowther in the chair.

Clauses 1 and 2 having been agreed to,

On Clause 3, giving power to the Secretary of State to raise any sum not exceeding £10,000,000,

Sir W. Wedderburn, in moving an amendment substituting the sum of £3,384,000 for £10,000,000, said that in the previous stages of the Bill he had given his reasons for objecting to the great railway programme, to cost thirty millions, being hurried on, thereby adding to the burdens of the taxpayers who were already overburdened, and had shown themselves unable to resist the first attacks of famine and pestilence. He did not propose to go again into the details, but he took the opportunity of this Bill earnestly to draw attention to the fact that the real evil from which India was now suffering was not want of communications, but the excessive poverty of the people. The peasantry had no store of grain, or of money, or of credit. They had not only nothing, but less than nothing, as they were hopelessly in debt to the moneylenders. Hence they were ready victims to famine and plague. Railways alone would not remedy this evil. Indeed it was within his own experience, that sometimes the construction of a railway actually did harm to the surrounding peasantry. He was in the Dekkhan District of Ahmednagar when it was suffering from the effects of the great famine twenty years ago. What was the result of a railway being brought through that district? The peasantry there had little irrigation, and grew large crops of millet raised by the natural rains. In a good year there was more than enough, and the surplus was stored away in grainpits to feed the people in a bad year. The grain thus remained in the villages. But when the railway came this grain got a marketable value, so it was seized by the rayats' creditors and sent away to foreign markets. Consequently, if there was a bad season no food remained for the people. Again, before the railway, the peasants with their carts carried the produce of the Nizam's country to the coast, and thus earned cash to pay

the Government assessment. When the railway came this source of profit ceased. In spite of this, the Government raised the assessment on these rayats on the ground that the proximity of the railway added to the value of their holdings. The matters referred to in the Bill were financial business matters, and did not call for any heat in the discussion, or for any personal reflections. He was, therefore, sorry that on the last occasion the noble lord had thought right to make observations of a character painful to himself. The noble lord seemed to think he (Sir W. Wedderburn) had imputed bad faith to him. That was not the case. He had only said the noble lord was ill-informed by his subordinates, and consequently was not able to adopt precautionary measures to prevent great calamities. He had given instances of this. Again, the noble lord seemed to think that he (Sir W. Wedderburn) desired to subvert the British Empire in India.

The Chairman said that the hon. baronet was travelling beyond the limits of the amendment.

Sir W. Wedderburn said that he objected to the proposal to give a blank cheque to the Government of India. He had no separate policy of his own, but had always been a follower of Lord Lawrence and Lord Ripon, who both avoided war and great expenditure, and whose aims were the content of the people and a full Treasury. He ascribed the present unfortunate condition of many of the people of India to the abandonment of the policy pursued by the Viceroys whom he had named.

Lord G. Hamilton said that there was no connexion between the amendment and the policy of Lord Lawrence and Lord Ripon, and that if the hon. baronet really wished to improve the condition of the people of India he would withdraw the amendment. One of the objects of this Bill was to enable the Indian Government to proceed with a scheme of railways which had already been sanctioned. The hon. baronet had endeavoured to show that railways were not beneficial to India. That surely was an extraordinary theory to propound in these days, when railways were thought so highly of that everyone was urging the Government to construct them even in countries which did not belong to us. He maintained that in India railways had been constructed with extreme success. To allow railway works to be begun and at the last moment to refuse the Government the means with which to complete the undertakings would be a course little calculated to serve the interests of the Indian taxpayers. If the amendment were carried the Government would have either to pay indemnities in respect of unfulfilled contracts or they would have to raise money for the purpose of continuing the works at disadvantageous rates. He agreed that the policy of railway construction ought not to be carried to such a point as to entail additional taxation on the people of India. Up to the present, however, railway enterprise in India had unquestionably resulted in reducing the burden of taxation and in largely developing the resources of the country.

Sir W. Wedderburn asked leave to withdraw the amendment. His only object in moving it was to emphasise the extreme need of investigating the condition of the masses of India.

The amendment was then withdrawn, and the Bill was reported without amendment to the House.

Monday next was appointed for the third reading of the Bill.

Friday, June 24.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE "EXPLANATORY" MEMORANDUM.
A BELATED SUPPLEMENT PROMISED.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India, whether there was any special reason why the Explanatory Memorandum of the Indian Financial Statement had this year been issued in such an abridged form:

And, whether the portions of the Statement omitted upon this occasion would be published and be placed in the hands of Members before the discussion of the financial Statement took place at the end of the Session.

Lord G. Hamilton: The Explanatory Memorandum was issued this year in an abridged form in order that, before the debate of the East India Loan Bill, the House might be in possession of all the material information necessary for a discussion. I was not aware that there was any wish for the enlarged Memorandum of previous years; but if such a feeling exists, I will lay on the Table a supplementary paper giving such portions of the usual statement as were omitted in the Memorandum already issued.

INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE APPOINTMENTS.
THE PRINCIPLE OF NUMERICAL ALLOTMENT.

Mr. Herbert Roberts asked the Secretary of State for India, whether he would state what was the number of places for the Indian Civil Service to be offered this year, and what was the number allotted in the same service in the year 1884:

And, whether he would inform the House what was the principle by which the number of annual appointments in this service was regulated.

Lord G. Hamilton: The number of appointments offered this year is 65. In 1884 the number was 36; but since 1887 provision has had to be made for the Burma Commission. The number of places to be offered annually is settled quinquennially with reference to the number of sanctioned posts; but this settlement is modified from time to time with reference to the actual state of the service, which is reported to be much depleted at present.

Monday, June 27.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

PETITIONS.

East India (Contagious Diseases),—Petitions against State regulation, from York and Holloway; to lie upon the Table.

INDIA OFFICE (STORES DEPOT) BILL.

Sir William Walrond nominated the Select Committee on the India Office (Stores Depôt) Bill: Mr. Nussey, Sir Andrew Scoble, and Mr. Sharpe, with two members to be added by the Committee of Selection.

THE NEW LOAN BILL.
THIRD READING.

On the order for the third reading of the East India Loan Bill,

Mr. J. Herbert Roberts said hon. members sitting on the Opposition side of the House had desired to bring to the attention of the Government the desirability, in regard to all financial proposals of this kind, of holding a Committee of Inquiry before they were carried out. This was no new idea, and he found that two of the most distinguished of the Finance Ministers of India had expressed themselves in favour of the appointment of such a Committee. In the *Times* of that morning there was an interesting article on Indian affairs, having particular reference to the currency question, and it was important to note—coming as it did from the *Times*—that the article laid special stress on the necessity of the Commission and the House of Commons having special regard to the Indian side of that question, as well as the English standpoint. Another point he desired to urge on the House was the desirability of obtaining more effective check on Indian expenditure. The necessity for making some classification between Indian expenditure which was made for Imperial purposes and Indian expenditure which was made exclusively for Indian purposes was becoming more and more urgent. The military expenditure of India for Imperial purposes was bound to grow, and it was time to face the question whether it was right and just, as he thought it was, for this country to bear its share of the expenditure incurred in India for Imperial purposes. He fully admitted that in all these matters consideration should be paid to the views of the Government of India. There was no one prouder of the recent achievements of the Indian Government than he was, and he desired to pay them his tribute of admiration for the way in which they had conducted affairs in recent trying times. Having regard to the circumstances of the times and the difficulties that surrounded India, every section of the House should unite in trying to lessen these difficulties and to strengthen the relations between the people and the Government of India, upon which the stability of our Indian fabric rested. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Strauss said the Bill did not make it clear that the money was not to be used for currency purposes. The Secretary of State had explained what the money was wanted for; but it was doubtful how far the noble lord's successor would be bound by that explanation. The Bill would be defective unless a clause were inserted debarring the Government from changing the monetary system in India without the consent of Parliament. The Government of 1893 made important changes in the Indian currency system without consulting Parliament, and there was reason to fear that that might be done again. A memorial had been presented to the noble lord, signed by the Governor of the Bank of England, Messrs. Rothschild, many of the most eminent men in the City, and the representatives of three-quarters of the whole Indian trade, in which the composition of the Committee appointed to consider the financial proposals of the Government was condemned as unsatisfactory. To that general condemnation there was only one exception, namely, the appointment of the right hon. member for Wolverhampton as chairman. (Hear, hear.) The fairness and business capacity of the right hon. gentleman commanded the admiration of everyone; but unfortunately he did not always act up to his convictions, or he would be sitting on the Ministerial side of the House. (Laughter.) There was an ominous phrase in the Bill—"Power to borrow in case of emergency arising, such as war, famine, or failure of demand for bills." If the Government had said plainly that in case the exchange went down they would again by artificial means try to keep it up, and would use this money for the purpose, it would have been better. Up to now the commercial community had felt secure in the knowledge that the noble lord's power to borrow was strictly limited; but this security the Bill would remove. The noble lord ought to give a pledge that Parliament would have an opportunity of expressing its opinion on the proposals of the Government. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Swift MacNeill said that he desired to discuss this loan, not on a commercial basis, but from the point of view of common honesty. This loan would eventually have to be paid out of the impoverished resources of the wretched people of India. The noble lord spoke in the most flamboyant way about the prosperity of India, forgetting altogether that these taxes were raised, not from the luxuries, but from the necessities of the Indian people. The pæans of the right hon. gentleman, the former Secretary of State, about the great advances of India were the absolute reversal of fact. We held India—he told the right hon. gentleman to his face—not for the good of the Indian people, but for the good of the English trading community. As long as he had a seat in the House he should protest against the robbery of India and the injustice done to its people. He should protest against a system of governing India which was a fraud upon India, a system which he believed would one day call down upon this country the vengeance of a just God.

Mr. Vicary Gibbs thought the hon. gentleman was listened to with more patience than probably would be extended to any other member who indulged in the same kind of language, because it was felt that his bark was worse than his bite. Following up the remarks of the hon. member for Camborne, no one, he said, could fail to realise how strong was the disturbance in commercial circles in this country with regard to Indian policy. In the City almost every leading house connected with India had joined in a protest to the noble lord. The language of that protest was startlingly strong, coming as it did from a body which included so many supporters of the Government. He should have been very loth himself to sign a protest which contained such reflection on the noble lord as was implied in the statement—"It is necessary to enlist the confidence of the City." Expressions hardly less strong had been addressed to the noble lord by the Chambers of Commerce of Manchester and Glasgow and other places.

And the anxiety and disturbance were not confined to the commerce of England, but the proposals of the Indian Government had been condemned by every newspaper in India and England which had expressed an opinion on the subject at all; and when it was considered that those proposals were of vital importance to the commerce both of England and of India it was only reasonable that complaint should be made when some of those the wisdom or unwisdom of whose conduct was in question were placed as judges of their own cause on the Committee. That of itself was calculated to destroy the value of their findings. The Indian Government by forcing up the exchange had been increasing the taxation of the people of India without their knowledge. A Government that tampered with the currency and compelled people to take coins at a rate higher than their real value, that artificially interfered with the currency by restricting its amount, put more money into its own pocket by causing the *maximum* disadvantage to the people under its control. This course had been taken for want of proper consideration of economic truths. This was not the first time that the Indian Government had applied for a gold currency in India, and for the closing of the mints to silver. The fall in the rupee had been long looked upon with alarm by the governing classes in India. On three occasions they had addressed strong protests to this country asking for the adoption of a policy the same in principle as that now demanded; and it was not until 1893 that they found anyone in the position of the noble lord willing to fall in with their view, which he looked upon as a source of the greatest mischief and danger both to England and India. From 1893 to the present time, while India had been declining in the ratio of exports to her imports by 60 per cent., Mexico, a country with a silver standard, had increased 40 per cent.

Mr. Cohen could not agree with his hon. friend in the expression of regret that it was necessary to impress the noble lord with the importance, even the necessity, of enlisting the confidence of the City. (Mr. V. Gibbs: I quoted the City memorial.) He did not think that the necessity existed for impressing on the noble lord by memorial the importance of obtaining the confidence of the City of London in any proposal affecting the currency in India, for no proposals could be successful which were likely to be attended with any serious disturbance of financial credit, or which produced artificial stimulus in the money market. He regretted to hear his hon. friend say that the proposals of the Indian Government had been already condemned. He had watched the discussion from day to day, and nothing had startled him more than the readiness, he would even say the rashness, with which gentlemen of authority had proceeded to dogmatise on their own *ipse dixit* as to one of the most perplexing and vital questions which had ever been submitted for thoughtful enquiry, and which, in his judgment, was now being subjected to as competent and representative a body as could possibly be got together. (Cheers.) Persons with strong opinions on the currency question and as to the direction which the decision of the enquiry should follow were excellent and indispensable witnesses, but owing to their convictions, he might say to their fads, they were absolutely disqualified to judge on the proposals submitted. They did not so much want persons of absolute experience in particular branches to sit on the Committee as persons capable of examining and weighing evidence which they ought to bring before the Committee not in the capacity of members, but in the capacity of witnesses. In his view, therefore, the importation of this currency question was altogether irrelevant to the Bill the House was now considering, because the measure was one, not to add £10,000,000 to the Indian debt, but one which would to a large extent reduce the charge payable by the Indian Exchequer. He should be glad when the noble lord or his successor saw his way to come to the relief of the Indian Exchequer by causing all loans which were raised for the purposes of India to issue with an Imperial guarantee.

Lord George Hamilton thought the House would agree with his hon. friend who had just spoken that the currency proposals which the House had unanimously referred to a Committee were in no sense relevant to the Bill now before the House. (Hear, hear.) On the motion for the resolution in Committee on which to found this Bill, he stated clearly on behalf of the Indian Government and of her Majesty's Government that the loan was in no way connected with any currency proposals, and that the sums raised would not be applied to the promotion of any proposals of the kind, and his hon. friend the member for Camborne might rest assured that that declaration would be adhered to, and he thought that, if before the sum mentioned in the Bill should be exhausted there should be a change of Government, any Secretary of State who should deliberately depart from the pledge given by his predecessor would find he had made a grave mistake, and that the House of Commons would not support him. His hon. friend might rest assured that, however dark and insidious the designs of the present Secretary of State, he had precluded himself from applying the loan to any currency policy. He was sorry that the question of the composition of the Committee had been raised. The first petition from the City he was informed was to a considerable extent signed under the misapprehension that the enquiry was to be limited in its character, and many of those who added their signatures would not have signed had they known the enquiry was not so limited. But his hon. friend represented a very extreme section of opinion on the currency question, and was associated with a powerful organisation which had one object in view—to obtain from the Committee a decision in favour of reopening the mints. In the reopening of the mints his hon. friend would find the salvation of India; but let his hon. friend and those who held similar views devote their time, in the interval before the Committee reported, to a consideration of the question whether the depreciation of a currency is a benefit to the community among which it circulates. As to the speeches delivered in the earlier part of the debate, they dealt with subjects more or less academic. The hon. member who opened the debate wished for information he did not find in the memorandum circulated. That memorandum he had prepared in the belief that the House generally did not care for detailed statistics in a speech, and, except from the hon. member, he had heard no complaint. If further information was sought, he would be very glad to give it. He had been attacked by the hon. member for Donegal for being able to introduce what he called a prosperity Budget; but why? If he could show that the Government of India could be carried on without additional taxation, the hon. member should look with satisfaction on the figures, because they indicated that unless very exceptional circumstances should arise during the present year, there would probably in future years be a reduction of taxation. His hon. friend had found fault with the Indian Government for not taking the advice of the Native members of the Council; but had finance been usually the strong point in oriental governments? In India, China, Persia, Egypt, oriental ideas had not been directed to finance with distinguished success, and wherever the stricter ideas of Europe had been associated with oriental rule the result had been improvement of financial conditions and the establishment—frequently, if not invariably—of equilibrium between revenue and expenditure. While he was ready to listen with attention to Native opinion in relation to all Indian questions, he did not think that Native views on finance and the fiscal system which should be imposed were necessarily those which under all conditions should guide the Government of India. He had, he thought, covered all questions raised. It must not be assumed that this Loan Bill would increase taxation or the burden on the Government of India. In this country every year there were great additions to railway capital, but shareholders did not necessarily look upon this as an increase of liabilities and decrease in dividends; on the contrary, our great railway enterprises would never have attained their present dimensions but for these continual additions of capital. In India the Government had undertaken railway construction, and in the same way they expended capital which would, it was believed, be for the ultimate benefit of its shareholders. No country had benefited more from railway extension, and to this, in a great degree, was due the success with which India had been able to meet her financial difficulties. He hoped this Loan Act would be sufficient to meet the exigencies of the home Government for a good many years to come, and no part of the sum would be used for any currency proposals, present or prospective, the Indian Government might desire to forward. (Hear, hear.)

The Bill was then read a third time.

Tuesday, June 28.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

THE MEDICAL STATISTICIAN.

Captain Norton asked the Secretary of State for India, whether there was at present employed at Simla a statistical officer who had held his appointment for 15 years or close on that period; and, if so, whether, in the interests of the officers of the Indian Medical Service, and also with the view of the latest and most enlarged experience being obtained and utilised, he would consider the advisability of placing some limit on the duration of the appointment of statistical officer as was in force with other staff appointments at Army headquarters, the tenure of which was limited to five years except under special circumstances.

Lord G. Hamilton: The medical statistical officer of the Government of India has held this appointment for nearly twelve years. There is no limit to the tenure of the appointment, and in the absence of any proposals from the Government of India, I see no reason to disturb the present arrangement.

SUPERNUMERARY LIST.

Captain Norton asked the Secretary of State for India, whether in future the same rule which exists to the effect that when officers are ten years in quasi-civil appointments, *e.g.*, cantonment magistrates, pay, ordnance, etc., they will be directed to revert to military duty or be posted permanently to the civil branch, would be made applicable to the officers of the Indian Medical Service.

Lord G. Hamilton: There is no present intention of applying to officers of the Indian Medical Service the rules under which military officers permanently appointed to civil employment are, after ten years absence from military duty, placed on the supernumerary list.

THE POONA PRESS COMMITTEE.

Mr. Herbert Lewis asked the Secretary of State for India whether he was aware that a Press Committee had been established at Poona:

And who was responsible for its creation, and what were the contemplated duties of the Committee as described to the persons who were appointed or invited to become members of it.

Lord G. Hamilton: The Bombay Government have had under consideration a proposal for the appointment of Committees in certain towns for the purpose of keeping the responsible officials informed as to the character of the matter published in the local newspapers. These bodies were to be of a consultative character, and not to be invested with any executive responsibility. I am in communication with the Government of Bombay upon the subject.

As I have before said, the law of India does not admit of the exercise of any censorship of the press.

The following notices of motion appear in the order-book of the House of Commons:—

Mr. Samuel Smith (on going into Committee on East India Revenue Accounts)—To move: That, in view of the poverty of India, aggravated by plague, famine, and war, and the unsatisfactory state of its finances, a more economical administration is urgently needed, also a better system of raising the revenue, and some aid for the country in regard to special expenditure on the North-West frontier.

Mr. Pickersgill,—East India (Penal Code)—That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be pleased to disallow the Indian Penal Code Amendment Act, 1898.

THE MEANING OF BULLION IMPORTS.

In the course of a pungent article on "Indian Financial Gymnastics" in the *Investors' Review* of June 10, Mr. A. J. Wilson wrote:—

In order to really fathom the depth of the stupidity which is manifested in many quarters by people who profess to know India and Indian affairs, we must go outside the dreary and hollow House of Commons debate, and look at what a person who might be deemed unprejudiced has to say on the subject of Indian "wealth." In last week's *Economist* an "East Indian Merchant" delivered himself of an attack upon Sir Robert Giffen, a portion of which we will here quote, partly because the "views" Sir Robert gracefully attributes to the City in his letters, and which this letter-writer attacks, are exactly those which we have been hammering away at these many years back, and especially during the past six years in the pages of this Review. In a manner, therefore, we are defending our own position when we take up the cudgels against this Eastern merchant. Here is the paragraph:

A "poor" and "debtor" country, not so rich even as Egypt, which, Sir Robert says, has got Cook's tourists: not to be compared with a creditor country like France, one of the richest in the world. Now, a "debtor," on a balance of transactions, I take to be one who has to find, and a "creditor" one who has to receive money to square the account. Is it not, then, a notorious fact, of which Sir Robert Giffen and the "City," whose views he says he represents, seem to be unaware, that India for the past sixty years has gone on receiving millions on millions of gold and millions on millions of silver? In the House of Commons, on March 29 last, Sir Samuel Montagu said: "There is an enormous quantity of gold in India, which has been estimated at over £300,000,000, and I feel sure from my knowledge of what has been sent to India during the last fifty years that £300,000,000 is even below the mark." That, besides tons upon tons of silver, has been received by "a poor and debtor" country, which has paid not only for all this great mass of bullion, but for all her other indebtedness as well. In the last official year to March 31, the returns of which are just to hand, famine notwithstanding, the net imports of gold were forty-nine millions of rupees, and of silver eighty-four millions. But then, Sir Robert suggests that, if not a poor country as a whole, it has a poor population. There is such a lot of them, such a large divisor, that, however big the dividend, the quotient is small. Now, I hold with the immortal Micawber, that wealth is relative. "Annual income," he says, "twenty pounds; annual expenditure, nineteen nineteen six; result, happiness. Annual income, twenty pounds; annual expenditure, twenty ought six; result, misery." The former position, I take it, describes the normal condition of the frugal, industrious, and saving peasantry of both France and India. Says Sir Robert Giffen: "France is clearly not an example for India in this matter." It seems to me that no two countries, both in soil and people, have industrially more in common. If Sir Robert Giffen wants relative poverty, in the Micawber sense, I think he will find it nearer home.

This, to be sure, is very eloquent and striking, but if the enthusiastic writer had paused to look a little below the surface he would have found that the "tons upon tons" of silver and "millions on millions" of gold which India has imported afford no proof whatever that India is growing richer, but the contrary. If a country is rich, in the sense of wealth disseminated more and more amongst the people, it buys increasing quantities of articles of consumption or luxury. Bullion is not what it wants, but merchandise; and the fact that India prefers bullion to merchandise in such large amounts demonstrates that the small class which is enriched through the peace we secure for the whole country, or through their participation in the commerce we have established, is a hoarding class which imports gold and silver to hide it away, having no use for our merchandise and no scope for the employment of their gains as fructifying capital in domestic industries, by reason of the utter poverty of the masses beneath them. Looked at in their true light, these bullion imports of India are perhaps the most emphatic condemnation of our rule which could be adduced. One might have imagined that a merchant would have been the first to see this, and that the mere fact that, assuming him to be an importer of goods into India, he found only an extremely limited outlet for these goods, at the same time that gold and silver continued to pour into the country, might have warned him of something wrong in the body economic. But no, he cites this bullion movement as a proof that the "wealth" of India, of the Indian people, is great and expanding. The wealth of a class may be; doubtless is. The zemindars and other landowners, the money-lenders, the mercantile houses of native origin, and a comparatively small number of people engaged in professions and industries in the cities and on the railways, may all be making money; indeed, some of them must be; but it is money of no use to them, except to turn into ornaments or to hoard as coin or bullion. They accumulate it and bury it, and it is as much lost to us, and to any beneficial employment for the development of India, as if it had been all sunk in the Indian Ocean. All the while that the few heap up this useless gold and silver, the great multitude of the people sinks into deeper poverty. But the merchant never thought of that, nor does the serene official.

ET CAETERA.

The P. and O. s.s. "Palawan," from Calcutta, arrived in London on June 23. The following were among her passengers:—Mrs. Gourju and child, Mr. B. H. Mullick, Mr. A. C. Cole, R.N., Mr. W. H. S. Bull, R.N., Colonel E. Grattan, Mr. W. M. Lamarchand, and Mr. Denah.

The s.s. "Sumatra" (P. and O.) leaves London on July 1 for Calcutta. Among her passengers are the following:—Mr. W. Cumming, Mr. Butchare, Mr. and Mrs. Blazey, Mr. L. Ceresole, Captain D. Henderson, Mr. J. H. Griffiths, Mr. and Mrs. Farr, and Mr. A. C. G. Luke.

Speaking at Ealing on Wednesday evening, Lord George Hamilton claimed on behalf of the Indian Government that it had successfully surmounted the three evils of plague, famine, and war, and had emerged from the ordeal stronger than it went into it. Lord George Hamilton also paid a high tribute to the merits of the Indian Civil Service.

Dr. Sarat Mullick has been re-elected to the post of resident medical officer to the London National Hospital for Diseases of the Heart and Paralysis. At the last meeting of the board of governors, Dr. Mullick was cordially thanked for the ability with which he had performed his duties, and it was mentioned that this was the first occasion on which such a re-election had been made.

The Marquis of Ripon, president of the Yorkshire College, together with the members of the Textile Industries, Dyeing, and Art Committees, and the principal governors of the College, is to be entertained by the Clothworkers' Company on Tuesday, July 5. At the same time the freedom and livery of the company, *honoris causa*, will be presented to Lord Ripon, as President of the College, in succession to the late Lord Frederick Cavendish, M.P., who was likewise an honorary member of the Company.

According to a correspondent of *Literature*, it was originally intended that the life of the late Lord Randolph Churchill should be written by Viscount Curzon, to whom all the necessary letters and papers were handed over. That arrangement, however, will not be carried out. Mr. Winston Churchill, whose book about the Malakand Field Force showed distinct literary ability, wishes to execute the task himself, and Lord Curzon has promised to pass on to him all the material which he has got together.

Two scholarships, value £50, tenable at Christ Church, Oxford, for one year, will be offered this year to selected candidates for the India Civil Service who have specially distinguished themselves in the entrance examination for that service, and who are not and have not been members of any college at the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, or Dublin. Regard will be had not only to the distinction attained by the candidates in the India Civil Service entrance examination, but also to the evidence of their personal character. Candidates for the India Civil Service who wish, if selected by the Government, to offer themselves for election to these scholarships, are required to send their names to the Dean before the end of the Government examination, together with three testimonials as to character, and three references. The election will be made, without further examination, as soon as possible after the publication of the list of selected candidates.

Mr. Maclean, M.P., who has suffered a good deal from attacks of neuralgic catarrh in the head during the last two years, underwent an operation last week to relieve a swelling in the frontal sinus. The operation, performed by Dr. Greville Macdonald, was completely successful, and Mr. Maclean is making good progress towards recovery. He has, however, been advised to go away for a long rest, and he will hardly be able to resume his Parliamentary duties this Session.

Major-General George Fullerton-Carnegie, late Bengal Staff Corps, died on Monday at Broadstairs in his 73rd year. General Fullerton-Carnegie joined the Indian Army in 1842, and became a lieutenant in 1844. He served in the Sutlej campaign of 1845-46, including the battle of Ferozeshah and the surrender of Kote Kangra, for which he received the medal. He also served in the Punjab campaign of 1848-49 and obtained the medal.

Surgeon-Major-General John Charles Morice, of the Indian Medical Service (retired), died in London on June 23. He was a son of the late Rev. R. C. Morice, and was born at Chelsea in 1836. He served in the Indian Mutiny, 1857-58-59, being present at the relief of Lucknow and at the siege and capture of that town, also at the engagements at Cawnpur, Seraighat, and Kalee Nadee, and at the capture of Fatehgarh and Bareilly, afterwards receiving the grant of a year's service and the medal with two clasps. He was in the Hazara campaign of 1868, and in the operations on the Black Mountains, for which he received a medal and clasp. His last service was in the Soudan campaign of 1885. For this he was mentioned in despatches, and received his third war medal and clasp. He married a sister of his friend and comrade, the late Major-General Sir Charles MacGregor, and leaves a son and two daughters.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

OFFICERS IN INDIA.

President (elected 1897):
Hon. C. SANKARAN NAIR.

General Secretary:
A. O. HUME, C.B., Rothney Castle, Simla; and The Chalet, Upper Norwood, S.E.

Joint General Secretary (in India):
D. E. WACHA, 84, Hornby Row, Bombay.

Standing Counsel:
Bengal, W. C. BONNERJEE;
Bombay, PHEROZSHAH MEHTA;
Madras, RAI BAHADUR ANANDU CHARLU.

BRITISH COMMITTEE.

Sir W. Wedderburn, Bart., M.P., *Chairman*.
W. C. Bonnerjee.
A. M. Bose.
W. S. Caine.
G. B. Clark, M.P.
A. O. Hume, C.B.
J. Seymour Keay.
H. S. Khalil.
Dadabhai Naoroji.
Herbert J. Reynolds, C.S.I.
J. Herbert Roberts, M.P.
C. E. Schwann, M.P.
Robinson Souttar, M.P.
Alfred Webb.
W. Martin Wood.

Offices: 84 and 85, PALACE CHAMBERS, WESTMINSTER, LONDON, S.W.

Telegraphic Address: "Incas, London."

Name of Circle.	Jurisdiction.	Name and Address of Secretary or Secretaries.
1. Calcutta	Presidency, Burdwan and Chittagong Divisions (*except* Murshidabad District) Assam & Orissa	J. Ghosal, Esq., Nolin Behari Sircar, Esq., and Raja Binoy Krishna Deb Bahadur; 11, Clive Street, Calcutta.
2. Dacca	Dacca District	Babu Sarat Chandra Bose, Pleader, Rajar Deory, Dacca.
3. Maimansingh	Maimansingh District	Babu Anath Bandhu Guha, Sec., Maimansingh Association, Maimansingh.
4. Faridpur	Faridpur District	Babu Ambica Churn Mozumdar, Pleader, Faridpur.
5. Barisal	Bakarganj District	Babu Awsini Kumar Dutt, Pleader, Barisal.
6. Rangpur	Rangpur District	Joges Chandra Das Gupta, Pleader, Rangpur.
7. Dinajpur	Dinajpur District	Babu Lalit Chandra Sen, B.A., B.L., Dinajpur.
8. Pabna	Pabna District	Babu Harendra Narain Roy, B.L., Pabna.
9. Bogra	Bogra District	Babu Peary Sunker Das Gupta, L.M.S., Medical Practitioner, Bogra.
10. Jalpaiguri	Jalpaiguri District	Babu Umagati Roy, Jalpaiguri.
11. Rampur-Beauleah	Rajshahyi District	Dr. Chandra Nath Chowdry, Rampur-Beauleah.
12. Berhampur	Murshidabad District	Babu Boikunt Nath Sen, Berhampur, Dist. Murshidabad.
13. Bhagalpur	Bhagalpur Division (*except* Purneah District)	Babus Siva Sankar Sahai and Surya Prosad, Bhagalpur.
14. Purneah	Purneah District	Babu Jogendra Nath Mukerji, Pleader, Purneah.
15. Chutia-Nagpur	Chutia-Nagpur Division	Rai Jodu Nath Mukerji, Pleader, Hazaribagh.
16. Behar	Patna Division (excluding the Muzaffarpur and Gaya Districts)	Babu Banwari Lal, Patna City.
17. Muzaffarpur	Muzaffarpur District	Babu Preo Nath Mukherji, B.L., Vakil, Muzaffarpur.
18. Gaya	Gaya District	Babus Nand Kishore Lal and Upendra Chandra Mittra, Gaya.
19. N.-W. Provinces	North-Western Provinces	Secretary, Standing Committee, Johnstonganj, Allahabad.
Sub-divisions of the Name of Sub-division.	*N. W. P. for the purpose of distributing* "India." Jurisdiction.	
Gorakhpur	Gorakhpur Division	A. Nundy, Esq., Gorakhpur.
Benares	Benares Division (*except* Mirzapur District)	Pandit Channu Lal, Benares City.
Mirzapur	Mirzapur District	Babu Sri Ram, Mirzapur.
Cawnpur	Cawnpur District	Pandit Perthi Nath, Cawnpur.
Bareilly	Bareilly District	The Secretary, Congress Committee, Bareilly.
Moradabad	Moradabad District	N. C. Bose, Esq., Moradabad.
Saharanpur	Saharanpur District	Babu Anand Swarupa, B.A., LL.B., Vakil, Saharanpur
Meerut	Meerut District	Babu Prahlad Singh, Meerut.
Aligarh	Aligarh District	Hafiz M. Abdur Rahim, Esq., Aligarh.
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